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14 MARCH 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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JPRS-NEA-88-017

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**Paris Conference on Armenian Pollution**

46190006 Paris *ARMENIE* in French No 64, Jan 88 p 3

[Article by Ara Babanian: "Pollution, Appearance on the Scene of CIACCAS"]

[Text] Pollution in Armenia continues to elicit reactions as anxious as they are intense. A new committee has made its appearance and it gave a conference in Paris.

On 18 December in the Ageca auditorium in Paris, the Information and Action Committee Against the Chemical-Nuclear Crime in Soviet Armenia (CIACCAS, 25 rue du Lieutenant Raoul Batany, 92190 Meudon) organized a lecture-debate dealing with pollution problems in Armenia.

Facing an attentive audience, Miss Hasmig Papazian spoke briefly about the newly created association before turning the podium over to the main speaker of the evening, Mr Khoren Kechichian.

In a very harsh and remarkably well documented report, the latter thoroughly discussed the pollution which is currently threatening our motherland. He asserted that this problem had been around for quite some time and it had been brought to Mikhail Gorbachev's attention on 31 March 1986 in a formal letter signed by 350 Armenian scientists, artists and intellectuals. Keshishian analyzed at length Zori Balayan's article entitled "Ill-Fated Days for Yerevan," published on 24 June 1987 in the *LITERATURNAYA GAZETTA* magazine. This text truly raises the alarm, assessing overwhelmingly the intensive industrialization policy of these past few years, a policy which took concrete form with the building of extremely polluting plants in the very center of Yerevan. Zori Balayan announced a major ecological catastrophe should drastic security measures fail to be adopted rapidly.

The speaker stressed that the indictment against pollution in Armenia, which failed to be acknowledged for a long time, was the result of a struggle among factions in the Soviet Nomenklatura and it certainly was not by chance that the official investigation commission was created on 24 June 1987, or on the very exact same day that Zori Balayan's article was published in the *LITERATURNAYA GAZETA*. He specified that, without an overall solution involving all the chemical industries of Armenia, the campaign currently under way to close the Nairite plant of Yerevan would not suffice to settle the pollution problem. In the second portion of his report, Keshishian commented on Varujan Vassilian's article published on 28 August 1987 in the Yerevan weekly, *GRAKAN TERT*, entitled: "Nature and Us: Many Reasons for Anguish." This study deals with the disastrous results of pollution which causes the appearance of many genetic illnesses affecting all strata of the Armenian population. Varujan Vassilian also draws attention to the dramatic situation concerning water resources in Armenia, such as the drainage of Lake Sevan and the many waste products dumped into rivers, the consequences of which remain worrisome.

Before closing, the speaker decried the danger created by the Medzamor nuclear power plant which currently provides 80 percent of the electric power capacity of Soviet Armenia at the expense of other sources of energy such as hydroelectric dams. It is advisable to signal that this power plant was built in a highly seismic region, located only 28 kilometers from Erevan. Keshishian regretted that plans for a solar energy power plant, drawn as early as the 1950's, was never retained by the authorities.

At the end of the very instructive conference, the public asked many questions proving that all were concerned by the fate of their fellow countrymen in Armenia.



## EGYPT

### Arab Expectations of Egypt Seen Unreasonable, Contradictory

45040050 Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic  
8 Jan 88 pp 1,3

[Bil-Hudu' column by Ibrahim Nafi']

[Text] It is certain that President Mubarak's visit to the Arab Gulf nations, which begins tomorrow, will renew discussion on three basic Arab issues: the joint Arab defense treaty, the Camp David accords, and the uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied land.

There is no doubt that the presence of the president of Egypt in these Arab nations for the first time after years of separation will renew the discussion on Arab solidarity and on the manner of achieving it through practical steps which confront imminent dangers. There is also no doubt that the discussion of Arab solidarity will reopen some old and new files for discussion and debate.

Due to the importance of these vital issues, I will pass over the introductions directly to the heart of the matter, so that we find out the true position of Egypt on these issues and so that we reread some facts in the matters connected with these issues which may have vanished from the minds of many, whether due to the passage of time, exaggeration or confusion.

Let us begin, for example, with the issue of the joint defense treaty and the economic arrangement among the nations of the Arab League, which some have tried repeatedly to make an 'Uthman's shirt [historical reference meaning cause for enmity] to estrange Egypt from the Arab nations and accuse it of leaving them and abandoning its commitments.

Let us leave this shirt aside then and let us approach its meaning, so that we find out together what this meaning is, in fact, according to Arab League documents.

The joint Arab defense treaty which binds Arab League member nations says in its first article, verbatim:

In their desire for continued security, peace and stability, the signatory nations affirm their determination to settle all of their international disputes through peaceful means, whether in their mutual relations among themselves or in their relations with other nations.

According to this article alone, we can say that Egypt did not abandon its commitments to the joint defense treaty when it resolved its regional disputes through peaceful means, by which its land was returned to it, all of its national soil was preserved for it and its military forces were strengthened in its own defense and that of the Arab lands.

After years of indecision and waste, the recent Amman summit affirmed and increased its support for this peaceful option as the only way to recover the occupied lands and stolen rights.

It is known to all that no international treaty binds anyone except those party to it; it follows that this treaty does not bind anyone except the member nations in the League of Arab Nations, and they have expelled Egypt from the League. They still have not taken it back, even after most Arab nations have resumed full relations with Egypt.

According to the text of this treaty's clauses, Egypt is no longer obligated to it officially or formally. Also, Articles II to V of the treaty specifically define the military procedures which pertain in the event of aggression toward a member nation, considering any aggression against one or more of the nations or against their forces to be aggression against the rest of the member nations one and all. Then the treaty's Article VI provides for the formation of a joint defense council to be created under the auspices of the League Council. [The Joint Defense Council] has jurisdiction in all affairs related to implementing the military operations provided for in these preceding articles.

How can some parties expect Egypt to carry out the obligations stipulated in this treaty when Egypt is not a member of the Arab League or the Joint Defense Council?

What many people do not realize is that the joint Arab defense treaty is not just a military defense treaty, but an economic-military treaty as well. Its beginning articles call for solidarity in confronting military aggression, and its final articles stress the need for economic coordination among the treaty states when meeting defensive obligations, in order to achieve the goals and purposes of the treaty.

It is strange that some parties should be constantly expecting Egypt to fulfill military commitments which are technically not binding because Egypt is not part of the League or the Joint Defense Council, while at the same time no one even mentions implementing the second part of the very same treaty, the part which calls for economic coordination in order to facilitate the implementation of military obligations. This has, unfortunately, been the case over the past few years. Meanwhile, two Arab states have violated all the articles of this treaty by directly, openly and unequivocally supporting a non-Arab party—Iran—in its aggression against a member of the Arab League—Iraq. What is even stranger is that one of those two states, Syria, has enjoyed Arab financial support and an influx of economic aid for many years.

It is true that Article X of this treaty provides that no signatory nation will conclude any international agreement inconsistent with this treaty, and, in its international relations with other states, will follow no course of conduct which conflicts with the aims of this treaty. On the other hand, however, let me say in all plainness that I challenge anyone to show the Arab people any secret or overt clause, article or agreement in the peace agreement which invalidates or otherwise affects Egypt's commitment to the clauses of the joint defense treaty. President Mubarak has said this very thing many times, since he has found no such clause or agreement. In fact, the exact opposite holds true; Egypt's international archives contain a letter from the American Administration confirming that the peace agreement does not cancel or affect any of Egypt's Arab obligations to the Arab world.

With reference to Article X's stipulation that no signatory state may conduct its international relations in such a way as to conflict with the goals of this treaty, let us ask, even more bluntly, what country is conducting its international relations in a way which conflicts with the goals of the joint defense treaty? What country adheres to it in letter and spirit in its international and Arab relations? Which country has violated this treaty, and which country is upholding its obligations under the most difficult circumstances?

The fact is that Egypt, under President Mubarak, has always declared and still declares its total commitment to the joint defense treaty, even though it is not a member of the Arab League or the defense council.

Egypt, not being part of the Arab League, has chosen to bilaterally carry out its Arab commitments to those states faced with foreign threats or attacks on their security and stability. It has given full military support to Iraq, and has met all Iraq's requests to the best of its ability.

Egypt has helped fraternal Kuwait confront the dangers threatening its security and stability, and has sent its deputy prime minister and defense minister, Field Marshal Abu-Ghazzalah, to Kuwait to work with that country in facing these perils.

When Saudi Arabia was faced with a plot to attack the holy places and a threat to its security and stability, Egypt sent out a strong, clear warning that any encroachment on Saudi Arabia's stability and security would be considered a threat to Egyptian and Arab security. Egypt acted accordingly from the very first day.

During all the dangers to which the Arab states have been subjected, Egypt has stressed that the security of the Gulf states is an inseparable part of Egyptian national security, and has adhered to this commitment.

Even though Egypt has been perfectly entitled to put off implementing its Arab obligations until it returns to the Arab League and rejoins the Arab Defense Council,

Egypt has never suspended protocol and formalities. More than once it has declared that it has bound itself to things not enjoined on it by the articles of the treaty, and that it has abided by it in letter and spirit.

Now we come to the Camp David placard which the braggarts wave in Egypt's face on every occasion. We ask, in all frankness, where is the Camp David agreement they speak of? The Camp David agreement has two parts, the first one being a peace agreement between Egypt and Israel. All the details are specified, and its clauses and phases have been carried out. Egypt has regained its land, which was liberated with the blood of the October war martyrs. This is the Egyptian part of the agreement, which was lodged with the United Nations, and it is the only international obligation binding on Egypt. Egypt has no other obligation.

The second part of the Camp David agreement is the Palestinian part, and Egypt continued negotiating its implementation until 8 May 1980. On 14 May of the same year, the Israeli Knesset passed a law annexing East Jerusalem into Israel. Egypt immediately ceased negotiations and protested to America and Israel about this law. Two months later, another Israeli law was passed annexing the Golan Heights into Israel. Egypt considered this to be the end of negotiations with Israel over implementing the Palestinian part of the agreement, which therefore became not binding on Egypt. President Husni Mubarak clearly said as much when, as vice president, he visited the United States after this annexation and registered Egypt's opposition to and total rejection of these two laws.

Perhaps it is now time for me to recount a discussion which took place recently between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and Former Egyptian Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil, during the latter's visit to Israel.

Shamir offered to resume the dialogue with Egypt on implementing the Palestinian part of the Camp David agreement, starting from the point at which Egyptian-Israeli negotiations stopped. Dr Mustafa Khalil said to him, "We stopped negotiations because of the passage of two laws annexing East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights into Israel. There is no way to resume the talks unless a new law is passed abolishing these two laws. Would you be able to present such a bill to the Israeli Knesset?"

Shamir answered, "No."

Mustafa Khalil said, "Then the Palestinian part of the agreement has become of no substance; indeed, it does not exist."

Then Shamir offered his usual suggestion that direct bilateral negotiations be conducted between Israel and Jordan, without any third party entering the issue.

Mustafa Khalil replied that this would be a violation of Article III of United Nations Resolution 338, which calls for negotiations among the parties concerned "under the appropriate auspices."

During President al-Sadat's time, this article was interpreted to mean the United States, and today some Arab states interpret it to mean the permanent members of the Security Council. It can also be taken to mean the United States and the Soviet Union. But in no case can it be taken to mean direct bilateral negotiations.

Because of all of this, Egypt had prior knowledge of this Israeli stand, particularly that of the Likud bloc, and therefore it halted negotiations and refused to resume them. At the time, Dr Butrus Ghali was sent to France and other European countries to seek support for the idea of an international peace conference as an alternative to direct negotiations. This idea was also backed by the 'Amman summit without any reservations or preconditions.

Thus Egypt's adherence to the joint Arab defense agreement has been omnipresent, strong and continual. Whether we recognize Israel or not does not change the status quo, since Israel has been recognized by the international community and the United Nations.

So, how can we explain this strange contradiction between the appeal for peace negotiations, first voiced by the Arab summit conference in Fez and then recently in 'Amman, and the simultaneous demand by some parties that the peace agreement which restored territory to Egypt be cancelled, so that relations with us can be resumed?

Where is the logic in this? What is the contradiction?

The Egyptian peace agreement is the only Camp David charter to which we are committed. As for the normalization clauses, in the final analysis they give Israel no advantages, preferences, or special consideration.

Let's leave the discussion of Camp David and normalization to others, and let us concentrate our efforts on liberating the usurped land and regaining our rights.

As for the uprisings in the occupied territories, it has become clear to everyone that Egypt is freely acting to support them and defend the Palestinian people. It is and always has been Egypt's opinion that Israel's military force, its iron fist policy, and its disregard for human rights and for the Geneva Convention are what have touched off the uprisings in the occupied territories, now that the Palestinians have come to despair of ever reaching a just solution to their problem after 20 years of occupation.

This may also be a good opportunity for me to ask the Israelis this: how can Israel, which does not respect the human rights of the Palestinian people, ask the Soviet Union to respect human rights in its treatment of the Soviet Jews, something Israel is always bragging about in international circles?

How can Peres say that Palestinian leaders are being deported according to Jordanian law, which governed the West Bank before it was occupied? Isn't it illogical for Jordanian law to apply to individual dealings, and for military orders issued directly by the Israeli military authorities to apply to the inhabitants of the occupied territories? The best evidence of this is the fact that the Palestinian heroes of the Uprising of the Stones are being tried before Israeli military courts.

Why is only that part of Jordanian law which suits Israel applied, while that part which protects the rights of the West Bank inhabitants is not being applied?

Egypt is asking Perez to apply the articles of Jordanian law to the West Bank population in all cases, instead of Israeli military law, which permits the military judge to take repressive measures unknown in any occupied state before.

Recently THE JERUSALEM POST said that the human rights accord signed in Helsinki does not apply to the population of the occupied territories; that instead, those articles of the Geneva Convention which regulate military occupation of occupied territories are applicable. This is unacceptable and unintelligible gibberish. Human rights are derived from the United Nations charter as well as the Geneva Convention. What prevents the application of the human rights law to the legitimate owners of the land?

All of Israel's attempts to brand the inhabitants of the occupied territories as terrorists will never succeed in deceiving world public opinion, now that the Palestinians have proven to the whole world that they are unarmed people confronting bullets with stones, defending their usurped rights with their bare chests. Suffice it to say that most of the heroes of the uprising who were taken to court, and whose pictures were published in the world's newspapers, were young men no more than 15 or 16 years old, who even so have behind them a long history of Israeli military oppression, deprivation of rights, and racial discrimination.

In the end, let Israel refrain from this oppression, which will never extinguish the Palestinian people's existing or future revolutions. Let it agree to participate in an international peace conference, and to recognize the Palestinian people's right to determine their own destiny and regain their rights. This is the only way to peace in the Middle East.



Excuse me for talking so long. I wanted to dot all the i's and cross all the t's on these three issues, because a proper understanding of them will help clear up matters which are now obscured by exaggerations, lies and lack of information on the part of many people in the Arab world. Perhaps I will have succeeded in that.

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**Interview With Minister of Electricity and Energy**  
*45040061 Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic*  
*13 Jan 88 pp 12-13, 60*

[Interview with Mahir Abazah, minister of electricity and energy, by Muhammad 'Ali al-Sayyid; place and date not given.]

[Text] Being in a high consumption bracket of electrical power use is a problem that greatly worries Egyptian citizens. A majority of consumers consider these brackets to be an excessive price increase, given the fact that a variety of types of consumption are a necessity for the Egyptian family. There was need for a frank interview with Engineer Mahir Abazah, the minister of electricity and energy. In a conversation which lasted a long time, he confirmed that the subsidy will remain and that the electricity rate increase is only for those in the highest consumption brackets. Misuse wastes energy; thorough rationalization is needed through cultural awareness on the part of consumers, government agencies, institutions, and companies.

Concerning the second problem, the power shortage due to the low water level in the High Dam lake, Abazah said, "We will compensate by using thermal plants. There are also projects for hydroelectric plants. As for the al-Qattarah Depression project, its costs are enormous, and it has side effects involving Nile Valley ground water and earthquakes. As for nuclear power, we are still intensively studying it in order to attain complete safety." He also said, "We are already preparing for the third [five-year] plan. Coal-based power production will be included in it." He emphasized his request for rationalized use of electricity, since it is a national necessity for the good of society and development plans.

[Question] First, we ask for the latest news about the water in Lake Nasser and the extent of its effect on electricity generation at the High Dam generating station.

[Answer] According to what I have received from the Ministry of Works and Water Resources, the level of the High Dam lake will drop to 150 meters above sea level in July of this year. This will be less than the average height planned for the station and will reduce its capacity from 1,750 megawatts a year to only 1,000 megawatts—i.e., we shall lose 750 megawatts this year.

[Question] You announced last year in AKHIR SA'AH that the decline in the lake level to 158 meters above sea level, only 3 meters less than the planned average, cost Egypt 200 million [Egyptian] pounds—the cost of the petroleum products used to compensate for the power deficit. What will the cost be this year, when the level is 150 meters?

[Answer] In fact, the lake level this year, especially in the month of July with the end of the annual Nile inundation, will decline by as much as approximately 6 meters. This will cost us 400 million pounds to compensate for the deficit by thermal plant generation using various petroleum products, solar energy, and natural gas. This is according to world prices.

[Question] This leads us to ask about the High Dam turbines. As is known and has been announced, the dam's original turbines were planned for a mean level of 162.5 meters above sea level, while the new turbines now being installed have a level of 167 meters. Doesn't that raise a question about the reason for this experiment? Why were the new turbines not installed at the old average level, particularly since the facts show that the level of the lake is continually subject to decline, if only over the long term?

[Answer] Modernization of the turbines is important for the dam's generating station in view of the fact that they have been in operation for a full quarter century and that cracks have begun appearing in their blades. The new turbines will increase the station's generating capacity by about 5 percent.

The new turbines are at the same level as the old ones, approximately 166.5 meters above sea level. We cannot decrease the average pressure drop for the High Dam turbines, because they were planned according to international designs for hydroelectric plants, designs that cannot be changed.

We have installed four new turbines to date in the dam's generating station. Two more will be installed in the middle of this year, thereby modernizing half of the station's turbines under the long-term modernization plan to be completed, God willing, in 1991 and which will cost 100 million pounds.

[Question] There is nothing new in our repeating your announcement that operations are going well at the Aswan-1 and Aswan-2 generating stations despite the decline in water level. But why is this so?

[Answer] This is true because the Aswan-1 and Aswan-2 stations operate at the level of water leaving the High Dam. Therefore, they will not be affected by the problem of the decline in water level in the High Dam lake. They produce half the power of the [High] Dam generating station.

**Kima and Naj' Hammadi**

[Question] As is well known, the Aswan-1 station was originally built to operate the Kima fertilizer factory. Some years ago there was talk about the possibility of operating the factory by means of natural gas. What has happened on this subject? Also, what about the Naj' Hammadi Aluminum Combine and rumors of its closure because of the large amount of power it takes?

[Answer] When the Aswan-1 station was built in the sixties, its largest consumer was the Kima factory. But after constructing the unified electrical network for Egypt, the station began to feed into the network, and the factory also began to draw from this network. As you know, this network facilitates transporting hydroelectric power to Cairo, or thermal power from Cairo to Aswan, according to consumption requirements. This takes place at the speed of light, which is 300,000 km per second.

The factory does indeed consume power equivalent to a generating station. It consumes 200 megawatts a year, which can be provided for the unified network if the natural gas project is implemented. The matter is now under consideration between the Ministry of Petroleum and the Ministry of Industry. We hope their studies will conclude by stating the necessity of implementing the project, especially since we know the project could save 200 million pounds, which is the price of the generating station that might now be built to provide the electricity that the unified network provides for the factory. I hope the circumstances of the present energy crisis caused by the drought and the High Dam will be an incentive for a quick decision on the subject.

As for the Naj' Hammadi factory, the factory and its consumption of electricity will not be touched. No one has thought of that.

[Question] Even after the [High] Dam, there is still room for new developments in the production of cheap hydroelectric power from the Nile. How far have the projects for electrifying the Nile aqueducts gotten?

[Answer] The Ministry of Public Works and Water Resources is in charge of projects for improving the Nile aqueducts. We participate with the ministry as regards studies of their electrical generating stations. Studies of the Isna aqueduct have been made, and the Ministry of Public Works is now inviting international bids for it. An 80-megawatt generating station will be implemented there.

There are projects for hydroelectric stations at the Naj' Hammadi and Asyut aqueducts, but the studies for these projects have not yet been completed.

[Question] Mr Minister, the decline in the level of Lake Nasser and its affect upon the [High] Dam generating stations raises a question about another huge hydroelectric project, the al-Qattarah Depression project, particularly since it will draw from a constant water source, the sea. Why has it been delayed until now?

[Answer] The al-Qattarah Depression project faces two problems. The first is that it would cost \$6 billion to implement, while it would yield only 300 megawatts of electricity. Thus, the expense of the project would be tremendous. We obtained about as much power by building the Aswan-2 station on the Aswan reservoir, and it cost only \$200 million. The project therefore becomes uneconomical, if it is limited to electricity. However, if the project were transformed into a cultural project with other ministries participating—such as the Ministries of Industry (to exploit the salts of the lake), Tourism, Construction, and others—in view of the effects the lake would have on the region, it would become an economical project. Otherwise, it would not be economical.

The second problem is that studies of the effects of the project on ground water in the Nile Valley and its effect on earthquakes—there will be a large lake exerting pressure on the northern lands of the country, along with the existence of great pressure in the south of Egypt at the High Dam lake—all these studies have not been completed yet.

**Nuclear Power Plant Safety**

[Question] The sum of 400 million pounds that the electricity sector is bearing this year due to the decline in the level of Lake Nasser in order to generate thermal electricity to compensate—doesn't it equal approximately one-third the cost of building the first nuclear power plant in al-Dab'ah? Wouldn't it be practical to spend this sum on a project that would produce a tremendous amount of electricity over the long term, instead of wasting it for the demands of luxury consumption?

[Answer] The problem of the nuclear power plants now is not its financing, which is more than \$1 billion, but rather the safety of the plant. After the infamous Chernobyl accident, in which the Russian Chernobyl plant exploded, releasing a nuclear cloud that threatened the world, the government requested a review of the project and a study of the best safety techniques existing in the world, especially in the Western countries; we will obtain the technology and equipment for this plant from one of these countries, if we decide to build it. This is what the relevant authorities are now studying, so that it can be put into a final report. Afterwards, it will be submitted to political officials in the government for the appropriate decision.

[Question] There has been much talk about there being an energy problem in Egypt for the period from 1988 until 1991, and now this year there has come the problem of High Dam electricity. Doesn't that put new burdens on the electricity sector?

[Answer] Actually, the energy problem in Egypt will exist only this year, because it is the decline in generating capacity at the High Dam power station that has led to a decrease in the amount of electricity available to us. If the High Dam station were generating at full capacity, the power this year would be completely sufficient for our consumption.

Starting with March and during the summer months, we shall face an electricity problem during peak hours, from sunset to near midnight. We are therefore working continually now in cooperation with officials and through the Chamber of Energy Operations in order to formulate the best solutions for this problem and to meet the volume of the tremendous loads during those hours.

[Question] What are the most likely solutions?

[Answer] The most likely solution to the electricity shortage is the use of thermal plants. So we will add new units to existing plants to increase their capacity. We will not, however, introduce new units during this year; their introduction will start with the beginning of next year, and new units will continue to be introduced until 1993. The capacity of these new units will add approximately 5,600 megawatts to the unified network. These units are:

325-megawatt units at the Abu-Qir, Asyut, Damanhur, and 'Ataqah generating stations.

220-megawatt units at the Talkha and al-Tabbin generating stations.

Implementation of the first unit (480 megawatts) of the Dumyat station.

300-megawatt units at the West Cairo, South Cairo, and al-Nubariyah generating stations.

### Large Coal Plants

[Question] You have frequently said that the implementation of any electricity projects must begin at least 5 years before the time they are needed. As is well known, the problem of drought began 9 years ago. One always assumes that precautions will be taken for the worst case scenario, which is what the lake situation has come to now. Where has the electricity sector been throughout this time?

[Answer] In fact, we submitted requests to implement new generating units as a precaution against just such a problem. This was done at the beginning of the new 5-year plan. But there was no funding for it. We also

asked for the implementation of large coal plants to be ready during the implementation of the second 5-year plan. But again the financial circumstances did not allow it.

However, given the current problem and the obvious importance of our request, this year we stressed our request for the necessity of drawing up a plan to implement coal generating stations to be ready in the third 5-year plan. We have in fact gotten agreement on funding. Bidding on these plants will soon be opened, so that they can be ready for operation early in the third plan—coal plants require from 5 to 6 years for their complete implementation.

In this way, we are nullifying the dangers of the previous plan and following sound national planning, with the plan to be for a period of 10 years, not 5. Thus, when the following 5-year plan begins, construction of some stations will have already begun, in order to give electricity adequate to the new plan.

Thus, the electricity sector is working for the third 5-year plan as of today. We also have to mention here that we have obtained approval to implement a rapid plan to add new generating capacity to current plants, in order to cover Egypt's energy requirements during the next 5 years. We will eliminate the causes for delayed implementation during the previous plan. This is what has been called the "quick 5-year plan." It will consist of new units added to the existing stations, and this is what I explained to you in detail in response to your preceding question.

We must not forget that during the period from 1980 to the present, the electricity sector added about 4,200 megawatts of new electricity for Egypt. This is two and one-half times the power of the High Dam. During the second plan, it will add [the power of] three new high dams.

### Providing Energy for Production

[Question] The government has announced its commitment to reclaim 150,000 feddans of new land this year, not to mention the new cities and their factories. Will all that be affected by the electricity shortage problem this year?

[Answer] Despite the current problem, we will try to supply the requirements of Egyptian industry and production fully this year. As you know, these requirements consume 60 percent of Egypt's consumption. We are also committed to providing electricity for the new reclaimed lands, as well as for the new cities and industries.

[Question] As you said, 40 percent of Egypt's energy is lost in home consumption—a very high proportion by international standards. Is there a means to limit this proportion?



[Answer] The only means is rationalization. The Egyptian citizen must reduce his increasing use of electricity, especially luxury consumption, so that this waste of electricity can be stopped and the yearly rate of increased electricity use can be reduced. This rate is still at 12 percent, which is very high, since it does not exceed 1 percent in the major powers and 6 percent in the developing countries.

The means of rationalization are many. The use of air conditioners could be prohibited, since the Egyptian weather does not require air conditioning throughout the seasons of the year. Also, large oil heaters and electric heaters—one might easily use a solar heater as an alternative, and it does not consume electricity. We have reduced its price to 450 pounds, one-third the price in Jordan, for example. One might use neon bulbs, since they use a very modest amount of energy in comparison with ordinary bulbs. Table lamps might be used instead of chandeliers, as is the case in Europe. And there are other easy ways that might save the citizen from paying money for this consumption and would save Egypt's energy for use in production, rather than wasting it in consumption and wasting Egypt's oil energy in thermal generating stations. An enormous return for Egypt might be realized from these oil resources, if they were exported.

#### Ramadan Riddles and Television

[Question] Doesn't the present situation require taking clearer positions regarding certain problems such as extra electricity during religious observances and festivals, television broadcasting hours, and the Ramadan riddles, which this year come in the summer, at the beginning of peak hours, and in the heart of the crisis, inasmuch as they more or less coincide with the end of the Nile inundation?

[Answer] In fact, people in the Information Ministry say the Egyptian people would become very angry if anything related to the month of Ramadan were changed. This is a problem involving the mass public, something with which we have nothing to do. Likewise the subject of limiting television broadcasting hours is the responsibility of people in the Ministry of Information. All we have to do is provide the electricity. As for decorations, they are the responsibility of the Electricity Police, which controls violations involving them, although we hope that citizens will commit themselves to reducing these decorations to lighten the electricity loads, so that surrounding areas will not be subjected to any electricity problems.

[Question] What is the situation of rural electrification this year?

[Answer] In fact, the new 5-year plan adds no new villages. It does, however, contain funding to support some villages that already have electricity but are confronting tremendous problems.

[Question] What has come of new and renewable energy projects?

[Answer] With the completion of the primary laboratories for new and renewable energy research, this year will see a new surge in new and renewable energy. These laboratories will start working when building and equipping the new basic laboratories in the special building in the Egyptian Organization for New and Renewable Energy is completed. This is being implemented with \$15 million in European funding for the organization from the European Common Market.

Also, 20-kilowatt and 100-kilowatt generating windmills will be produced at Egyptian military production factories for use in various generating zones: the Mediterranean and Red Sea coasts, the New Valley, and al-'Uwaynat. Solar sea water desalinization units will be installed in a number of remote areas, the solar-powered ice plant in Aswan will be enlarged, and solar-operated buoys will be installed for navigation on the High Dam lake.

[Question] You announced Egypt's entry this year into the area of electrical equipment manufacturing. How far have matters progressed?

[Answer] There have in fact been great steps in the area of local manufacture of electrical equipment such as cables, aluminum junctures, electrical towers, insulators, electrical lines, distribution boxes, and condensers.

An agreement has been reached with the minister of industry to produce certain generating plant units locally, so that we can stipulate their use in any new stations we import from abroad. From all of this, one can encourage domestic manufacture and work to realize self-sufficiency. Thus we decrease the amount of importing and the amount of hard currency expended by the government.

#### 10 Consumption Brackets

[Question] We come to the questions that citizens have about the new statements and the electricity brackets. What is new in this area?

[Answer] First of all, I have to clarify a simple fact, namely that electricity prices have been raised only for those in the high consumption brackets, a very small percentage of consumers. Government support of electricity prices remains in effect for the great majority of consumers. The matter has merely been organized more clearly. That is, consumers have been divided into brackets, so that the amount of support can be defined for each bracket, and so that the high use figure at which support decreases can be more closely defined. The following things should be taken into account:



Seventy-one percent of subscribers consume 100 kilowatts a month. This is the lowest-priced bracket and its price is computed at only about 0.018 pounds. In this way, the great majority of subscribers obtain cheap, price-supported electricity.

Brackets up to 500 kilowatts of consumption monthly also receive support. The computation is as follows:

Consumption of 200 kilowatts a month is priced at only 0.030 pounds. This represents 25 [as published; probably a misprint for 20] percent of consumers.

Consumption of 300 kilowatts a month is priced at only 0.038 pounds. This represents 5.5 percent of consumers.

Consumption from 350 to 500 kilowatts a month is priced at 0.046 pounds. This represents 1.7 percent of consumers.

In this way, 98.2 percent of subscribers benefit from support. These are more than 8 million subscribers out of a total of about 9 million subscribers at the national level.

There then remain about 1.8 percent of subscribers for whom support gradually decreases in view of their high consumption. They are as follows:

Consumption of from 501 to 650 kilowatts a month—these consumers received electricity at a price of 0.060 pounds a kilowatt. They represent 0.8 percent.

Consumption from 651 to 800 kilowatts a month is priced at 0.070 pounds. This represents 0.6 percent of subscribers.

Consumption from 801 to 1,000 kilowatts a month is priced at 0.080 pounds. This represents 0.3 percent of consumers.

Consumption from 1,001 to 2,000 kilowatts a month is priced at 0.100 pounds. This represents 0.1 percent of subscribers.

Consumption from 2,001 to 4,000 kilowatts a month is priced at 0.120 pounds. This represents 0.1 percent of subscribers.

Consumption over 4,000 kilowatts a month is biffed at 0.140 pounds. This represents 0.07 percent of subscribers.

Thus it becomes evident that there are ten brackets, divided into two groups. The first group is for consumption up to 500 kilowatts. It receives support and represents the great majority of subscribers. The other five brackets are the ones in which support levels decrease, in

view of their tremendous consumption, which in some of the brackets reaches more than 4,000 kilowatts a month. These brackets represent a very small percentage of subscribers.

#### Use of Electrical Appliances

Perhaps the most important problem regarding these last brackets, is that, in spite of the small number of people in these brackets, they represent the highest amount of consumption. This means they must pay a higher price for energy. They are a well-to-do class, as indicated by their ownership of numerous modern high-consumption electrical appliances. Officials in the ministry have therefore made a special study of these appliances, determining monthly hours of operation, measuring their consumption, and determining consumption in relation to electricity prices. This is what we have presented to public opinion, so that citizens, especially housewives, will know how much their electrical appliances consume and will understand along with us the reasons for the increase in the price of their monthly consumption. At the same time, this will give them a clear idea about the energy that can be saved if the use of these appliances is guided rationally or if they are replaced by more economical appliances. The following things have become clear from this study:

An automatic washing machine operated for 1 and 1/2 hours a day consumes 90 kilowatt hours, costing 9 pounds a month.

A dishwasher operating for 2 hours a day consumes 150 kilowatt hours a month, costing 15 pounds a month.

An electric oven or range operated for 2 hours a day consumes 240 kilowatt hours, costing 24 pounds a month.

An electric vacuum cleaner operated for 1 hour a day costs 1.20 pounds a month.

An iron used for 40 minutes a day costs 2 pounds a month.

A 50-liter bath heater operated for 1 and 1/2 hours a day costs 13.5 pounds a month.

A kitchen heater operated for 1 and 1/2 hours a day costs 22.5 pounds a month.

A deep freezer operated for 2 hours a day costs 6 pounds a month.

An ["Espalet"] air conditioner operated for 6 hours a day costs 63 pounds a month.

An oil heater operated for 6 hours a day costs 45 pounds a month.

An electric skillet operated for 1 hour a day costs 12 pounds a month.

A color television operated for 4 hours a day costs 1.20 pounds a month.

A video cassette recorder operated for 2 hours a day costs 0.80 pounds a month.

#### **The Truth About the New Statements**

As for the subject of the new statements, it is a new system which we are following to control [meter] reading operations and reduce or, if possible, prevent citizen complaints. Here are the aims of the new statement and how it is organized:

Meters will be read once every 2 months, so that the inspectors can keep track of all subscribers. During the month of the reading (i.e., the even months of the year), the subscriber will be billed for electricity according to the actual reading; during odd months, an average will be taken, and an adjustment up or down will be made during the following month.

It will be written on the statement whether this month's bill is based on an average or an actual reading.

The cost of consumption in pounds and piasters will be written both in numbers and words, to prevent any problems.

The stub of the statement will include all explanations of the bill, so that it will be easy for the subscriber to follow his consumption, in case the inspector leaves the bill when the subscriber is away from his home.

During January of each year, the consumer has the right to request reduction or increase of his monthly consumption average, if he thinks the computed average is higher or lower than his consumption, bearing in mind that any excess will, as we have said, be adjusted in the following month when the actual reading takes place.

If for 2 months the subscriber is not at home when the inspector comes, and if the sum of 20 pounds or more accumulates against him, he may request installment payment of the sum over a maximum of 12 months. The charge for installment payment will be added to the monthly electrical statement and will be placed in a square by itself.

If the statement is for more than 50 pounds, it will be accompanied by a special letter containing the amount of consumption. The letter will assure that the bill has been reviewed and will designate the month of the consumption.

If the amount of consumption is over 350 kilowatts, it will be marked "reviewed," if the consumption is more than 30 percent above the subscriber's average monthly consumption.

If consumption is over 1,000 kilowatts a month, the subscriber will be entered in a special list, so that the bill will be reviewed before being drawn up.

The consumer has the right to a review of the meter reading before paying the amount of the statement, if he wants to make sure of its correctness.

If the subscriber presents any complaint about the statement, collection will be suspended on the statement until it is reviewed and the actual reading of the meter is followed up. If the reading and the meter prove to be in order, the subscriber will pay the amount on the statement. If the meter turns out not to be in order, the statement will be stopped and the subscriber will be billed based on his average monthly consumption.

New subscribers for whom statements have not been issued in spite of installation of their meters will be listed. Special committees will study the reasons for the delay and will put them on inspector routes.

The new system establishes a special system for monitoring inspectors, as follows:

A random sample of reading registers will be taken from the inspectors and will be studied by the inspectors' supervisors. The supervisors will revisit about 5 percent of subscribers to make sure the reading was correct. This will be done within 2 days of the date of the reading.

An incentives system for inspectors entering employment has been established, as well as a punishment system for sloppiness, extending to termination.

12937

#### **Waste, Depleted Hydroelectric Capacity Driving Energy Crisis**

46200011 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER  
ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in  
German 12 Jan 88 p 2

[Article: "Lake Nasser Water Level Has Dropped—  
Dams Being Built in the Nile Delta"]

[Text] Cairo—"Wasting Energy Must Stop" is the motto with which Egypt's Minister of Electricity and Energy Mahir Abaza plans to quickly deal with the drop in electric energy generation. A lack of rainfall in the Ethiopian highlands during the last 7 years has caused an insufficient water influx to the Nile, the country's main source of energy and its water level has been sinking steadily.

Ministry calculations indicate that by June the level of the Lake Nasser reservoir will drop to 150 meters, causing electric current generation by the turbines of the Aswan Dam to be reduced from 1,750 to 1,000 megawatts. The power plants located there supply about 25 percent of Egypt's requirements, which are estimated at 45 billion kilowatt hours. For the first time Abaza has openly talked of a crisis situation. At the same time, he described a basic "anomaly" in Egypt's use of electricity: 60 percent, he said, is used by industry, while private households consume 40 percent. According to comparable international data, this ratio should be closer to 80:20, or even 90:10, the minister complained.

To attain this, a waste figure amounting to 12 percent of electric power use must be reduced or totally eliminated, the minister demanded. The widespread unauthorized tapping of the public electricity network, as well as large subsidies to electricity bills entail careless use of electric power. Apart from "austerity measures," the minister announced automatic rate increases as soon as a user exceeds "reasonable quantities."

On an annual average, Egypt's electric power needs rise by 15 percent, in Cairo by as much as 25 percent. Thus the 500 million kilowatt hours used overall in 1952 increased to 18 billion in 1981 and 45 billion during the past year alone. Economic researchers ascribe the cause of this, apart from the high population increase, to the millions of Egyptians returning from jobs in foreign countries, particularly the rich Gulf states, who have acquired new consumer habits and who are bringing back energy-guzzling household appliances such as VCRs, dishwashers, modern wash machines, freezers, etc.

For the long term, the government seeks primarily to reduce the domestic energy generation's dependence upon the Nile, whose capacity depends on rainfall at its upper course, regardless of the Aswan Dam. The next 5-year plan provides for \$4.3 billion to develop new energy sources, primarily based on conversion of coal. Even imported bituminous coal remains the cheapest fuel, disregarding even the enormous deposits in the Sinai Peninsula.

Last December, an article in a British journal caused widespread alarm by asserting that the sinking water level in Lake Nasser will have devastating effects on Egyptian agriculture and industry. Lake Nasser, 500 km long and 10 km wide, is upstream from the Aswan Dam, which was completed in 1970. However, the government has succeeded in reestablishing calm to a great extent. Even Minister Abaza gave assurances that no major problem would arise before the summer. Construction of heating power plants had been initiated immediately, he said, to alleviate the shortages which could not fail to occur if the lack of rainfall continues in the Ethiopian highlands.

According to Abaza, last summer's water flow amounted to a mere 43 billion cubic meters, compared with a 55 billion average over a great number of years. Contracts have meanwhile been let for the construction of dams in the Nile delta, which will prevent unused water from flowing into the Mediterranean. There is also to be a reduction in land used for rice planting. The minister finished by saying that 1988 would in any case be a critical year for electrical power supply; but that there is still hope that blessed rainfalls next summer would bring things back to normal in 1989.

9273/9604

## JORDAN

### Anti-Liquor Amendment to Drug Law Discussed, Defeated

53004518a Amman AL-DUSTUR 24 Jan 88 p 11  
[Excerpt] The Draft Narcotics Law

Mr al-Qadat read out the legal committee resolution regarding the draft law on narcotics and mind-altering substances for 1988, containing the recommendation to agree to the draft as received from the government, after Paragraph Three of the definitions in Article Two of the draft was cancelled and one of the paragraphs in Article 31 of the draft was reformulated.

#### Dr Ahmad al-Kufahi

Dr Ahmad al-Kufahi recommended that the draft law be called the liquor draft for 1988, that amendments be introduced into the draft including this notion and that a principle be inserted in it stipulating a punishment of flogging with 30 lashes for anyone taking alcoholic beverages, whether he gets drunk or not, if by choice and not subjected to urgent compulsion, with the addition of other penalties upon repetition.

He said that one justification for such an amendment was that alcohol is a legal name applied to all alcoholic beverages, narcotic substances, and mind-altering substances, because alcohol is the main narcotic and mind-altering substance.

#### Layth Shubaylat

Mr Layth Shubaylat talked and affirmed the conclusion reached by Dr al-Kufahi. He characterized labelling the draft by its current name as shrinking from confronting the subject.

He said, "We are all in agreement over the harm from alcohol, since it is the main narcotic, and an explicit stipulation has been made prohibiting it."

He said, "We are in a country that is threatened by a usurper enemy, and our circumstances are not easy ones. Alcohol constitutes a great threat to us because it is the handmaiden of diversion and frivolity."

He wondered, "How can we divert ourselves while we are in a situation where we are suffering from a Zionist threat?"

He stressed the need to deal with this subject now, in the course of discussing the draft law on narcotics.

**Dr 'Abdallah al-'Akayilah**

Dr 'Abdallah al-'Akayilah stated that the Jordanian constitution stipulates that the law of the country is Islam, and pointed out that it was not logical to discuss whether alcohol is illicit or lawful.

He said that the issue is a principle of Islamic law which is not subject to discussion.

**Salman al-Qadat**

The chairman of the legal committee, Mr Salman al-Qadat, spoke, asserting his concurrence with the view that alcohol is unlawful.

He said that from the constitutional standpoint the legislative authorities were not allowed to discuss a subject outside that presented to them for discussion, and pointed out that what had been presented was the draft of the law on narcotics, not intoxicants.

He reviewed the causes which made the draft of the law mandatory, asserting that this showed the purpose of drafting the law and that narcotics had been fought here since the establishment of the kingdom.

He said, "The discussions which have been raised have gone outside the general framework of the draft presented to us, and we have the right to a discussion which is restricted only to what has been presented."

**Layth Shubaylat**

Mr Layth Shubaylat spoke, and said: "I am surprised by the honorable response of the colleague Salman al-Qadat, in which he thinks that we are discussing a matter outside the law," pointing out that what was requested was not another law, but the amendment of some of [the current law's] articles.

He said, "Through the definitions cited in Article Three of the draft, you can see that "preparations" are defined as any liquid or solid mixture containing a narcotic, and everyone knows that "narcotics" are anything which removes from the mind its faculties and control of man."

He said, "Through that, we can see that alcohol is one of the basic things which cause that."

He added, "Based on the reasons for making the draft law mandatory, and in view of what the chairman of the committee spoke about, I once again assert our former recommendation."

**Salman al-Qadat**

Mr Salman al-Qadat asserted that what he spoke about did not represent his personal view, but was the view of the constitution, which governs everyone's activity.

**The Decree of Parliament**

After that Mr 'Akif al-Fayiz, the chairman of the assembly, presented Mr al-Kufahi's recommendation, and it did not meet with the agreement of the assembly.

The committee resolution was then presented, and that did meet with the agreement of the assembly.

11887

**SAUDI ARABIA**

**Muslims Urged To Promote Self-Sufficiency,  
Boycott West Financially**

44040090 Mecca AKHBAR AL-'ALAM AL-ISLAMI in Arabic 28 Dec 87 pp 8-9

[Article by Egyptian Economics Professor Ahmad Amin Fu'ad: "Islamic Societies and Organizations Rely on Themselves for Direction and Financing—How? (Part 2)"]

**[Text] The [Islamic] Work Doctrine**

For Islamic societies and organizations to realize the goals of self-reliance in operation and financing requires an integrated plan. That plan must take into account, on the one hand, the reality experienced by the Islamic community, the challenges arising from problems and obstacles, and the interconnection between these factors; on the other hand, it must take into account the desired progress and the desired form of such a community. There is need for clear, solid thinking and for practical measures to confront the challenges, overcome the problems, and uproot the obstacles, while at the same time preparing for a surge into the future and the vast expanses of progress. The matter no longer tolerates ineffective and unsatisfactory partial solutions. The Islamic community no longer can afford the luxury of waiting. The slope it stands on is steep; the forces pushing it are strong; and the rate of its descent is fast. There is a pressing need to arouse this Islamic world, to utilize the tremendous force latent within it, and connect this force with the sources that can replenish strength; the Islamic World must be helped to surmount the challenges in an effort to set its foot on the right, secure path and direct its journey to the summit once more. The choice has become difficult and unavoidable: either death, ruin, and backwardness forever, or life for "the best of nations evolved for mankind" (Qur'an 3:110).

The working plan centers on two main axes:

First, building the substructure for autonomous strength.



Second, implementation policies and measures (ways, means, and methods) that on the one hand serve this substructure and on the other hand support the superstructure, confronting and aborting the obstacles.

First, building the substructure for autonomous strength:

Such a substructure is the foundation for setting the Islamic community on the right path and for preparing it to leap ahead, breaking its bonds. The following need to be accelerated: 1) Implementing the Islamic Path and ending the ideological struggle in Muslim society; 2) building up the Muslim man upon the values of Islam; 3) holding fast to the Rope which God stretches out, and achieving brotherhood, mutual responsibility, and economic integration among Islamic peoples; 4) regulating production and productivity; 5) building and developing an autonomous, independent technology; 6) reliance on local funding; and 7) building an information base.

1. Implementing the Islamic Path [The Islamic Path should be implemented] as creed and law, as religion and state, as politics and economy, as society and culture, as method and organization. The ideological struggle in Muslim society should be ended. Advocacy of any school of thought hostile to Islam should be crushed, so that the community may become single-hearted, serving one Lord, and rendering absolute loyalty to Him and His Path: "The command is for none but God: He hath commanded that ye worship none but Him: that is the right religion, but most men understand not" (Qur'an 12:40).

The Islamic Path is not the product of human intellect which, no matter how high it ascends, is restricted. It is "revelation from the All-wise, the All-laudable" (Qur'an 41:42). He knows what is good for societies and sets them on the right course out of kindness toward his creatures and to protect them from stumbling in the darkness of limited human thought:

"Should He not know—He that created? And He is the One that understands the finest mysteries (and) is well-acquainted (with them)" (Qur'an 67:14).

The Islamic Path can be implemented only through a comprehensive movement which restores Islam to the world of the Muslims and restores the Muslims to the domain of Islam.

The Islamic Path must be implemented because it is a divine way, one that flows from Islam and applies its rules; it must also be implemented in order to follow the messenger of God (may God bless him and give him peace), who said: "I have left among you something such that if you hold fast to it you will not go astray after my death—the Book of God and my Sunnah (customary practice). Hold fast to my Sunnah and the Sunnah of the well-guided caliphs who come after me." The fundamental principles [of the Islamic Path] derive from the circumstances and heritage, temperament and history of

this community. In implementing such principles, the Islamic community relies on the unbounded spiritual force of faith that Islam releases in the souls of Muslims and that Islam transforms into productive energy which ranks among the highest forms of religious devotion closest to the heart of the Creator, may He be exalted.

It leads naturally to the creation of a basic structure for autonomous strength—a structure which results from achieving self-sufficiency and self-reliance, developing the community's resources, and nurturing in Muslim individuals the tendency to build and construct. It propels [the community] toward the horizons of progress through faith and work in harmony with its mission.

The bases upon which the Islamic Path rests in bringing about development are as follows:

A. The human being—inseparably joined to the community by Islamic brotherhood, holding fast to the Rope which God (stretches out), and cooperation.

B. Sources of wealth in the society (natural resources):

—Everyone has a right to them.

—Everyone is responsible for their development and full use.

—Their ownership must be controlled and regulated.

As regards the form [of property]: There must be private ownership and public ownership at the same time, both being fundamental, and both being essential for the welfare of society.

As regards the source [of property]: basically through labor, beginning with effort to utilize neglected resources.

As regards the amount [of property]: dependent upon ability to utilize [resources].

As regards the scope [of ownership]: includes everyone who is capable of shouldering the responsibility. This capability is to be encouraged and supported.

As regards the fruits [of property]: these must facilitate progress and sustain the continued existence of a productive society.

As regards distribution of the yield [of property]: Achievement of a "measure of sufficiency" must be guaranteed for each individual.

C. Role of man in regard to the sources of wealth (a strategy of production):

1. Goals:

—Realization of a "measure of sufficiency" for each citizen.

—Covering the basic needs of citizens: first the necessities, then luxuries.

—Creation of a new productive structure answering to the new goal of realizing a "measure of sufficiency" for each citizen.

## 2. Foundations:

—Belief that the resources are sufficient to satisfy the needs of all human beings, no matter how much people multiply. There is no shortage, since [God] "ordained [in the earth] its diverse sustenance" (Qur'an 41:10).

—The right of all citizens to share in the sources of wealth created for all of them.

—State responsibility to utilize resources, both through its own efforts and through the efforts of as many individuals as possible, and to guarantee a "measure of sufficiency" for every citizen.

## 3. Means:

—Work, as an obligation incumbent upon all who are able.

—Full use of all resources

—Responsibility, shared by all citizens as an obligation.

—Carrying out one's share of the collective responsibility due to society in the area of production. Conditions for effectiveness of the [Islamic] Path:

This Path is characterized by features that give it an absolute advantage in providing the Islamic community with the basic structure necessary for autonomous strength and self-reliance, especially in the areas of direction and financing. We sum them up as follows:

—The Path suits the nature and environment of this community, stems from its creed, expresses its thoughts and hopes, sharpens and releases its productive and creative energies. Beyond this, it is flexible and suited to the community's diverse circumstances and its stages of development.

—It combines private and public interest, the interest of the individual and the interest of the community. The individual is the concern of the community, and if the individual loses his identity in the the community, the responsibility of God and His messenger to [preserve] that community ceases. The community is the concern of the individual, and he will be held responsible for it before God. "He who takes no interest in the business of the Muslims is not one of them." Both interests serve Muslims. Islam establishes an organic unity and close

harmony between individual interests and community interests. The individual deems his interest part of the community's interest; the community deems its interest part of the individual's interest.

—In Islam's view, social contradictions are considered as negative and positive charges, basically a reason for cooperation and integration, not for conflict and internal fighting. All are members of one family in Islam's view. They complete each other. The possessor of a surplus supports with his surplus the man who has none; the wealthy man uses his money to meet the needs of society, his relatives, the orphans, the unfortunate, and travelers; thus he and others benefit equally from his money.

"Those more favored are not going to throw back their gifts to those whom their right hands possess, so as to be equal in that respect" (Qur'an 16:71).

—In the Islamic community, development ("cultivation") is an obligation the state strives to realize; the state will be held accountable to God if it neglects this duty. Development aims at abolishing poverty, because poverty contradicts Islam. The Messenger (upon him be blessing and peace) besought God's protection against poverty and unbelief, equating the two. The Imam 'Ali (may God be pleased with him) said, "If poverty were a man, I would kill him." He also said, "Poverty diminishes religion."

Poverty is economic backwardness; its remedy is development.

—The property system in Islam accommodates private property and public property at the same time. Both are fundamental principles, not anomalies. Neither is absolute; they are restricted by the common good, and their continuance is related to the goal of realizing this common good.

—The state has a twofold responsibility for production. On the one hand, it is responsible for directing economic activity in the society and for leading it to productivity. It spreads private ownership over the widest possible domain, so as to cover a broad base comprising the entire homeland and so as to include as participants all the members of the society. It encourages private ownership to realize full cultivation and enables it to carry out its role in development. On the other hand, the state is responsible for having individuals carry out their duties as fully as possible and for inducing individuals to exert their utmost effort to improve their status, develop their resources, and put material and human resources to full use.

Work is an obligation incumbent upon everyone who is able.

—The state's role is neither absolute nor tyrannical. Rather, it is overseen by the individuals and restricted by limits which Islamic law sets. The state and the individual oversee each other.

—The entire community has a right to the sources of wealth: "He hath created for you all things that are on earth" (Qur'an 2:29). It has a right to the realization of a just distribution of wealth and income through the diffusion of ownership and through broad ownership of the means of production, so that each individual in the society possesses property. To this end, [the state] does not follow the path of depriving some in order to give to others. It protects the property of owners, and it helps the non-owner acquire property by creating new opportunities for him and by encouraging efforts which would add to the capital of society.

In this way, just distribution is achieved. One does not wait until production takes place; rather, [there is justice] even beforehand as regards distribution of the very means of production by whose ownership production takes place. Thus, distribution and production coincide in time. [Production] takes place through distribution of what generates wages, namely job opportunities; by distribution of what generates increase, namely land; and by distribution of what generates profit, namely productive capital.

—Belief that the resources are sufficient to satisfy the need of all human beings no matter how much people multiply. There is no shortage in the Creator's provision of sustenance: "He ordained in [the earth] its diverse sustenance" (Qur'an 41:10). He brought into existence resources sufficient for its people: "Verily all things have We created in proportion and measure" (Qur'an 54:49). "And He giveth you of all that ye ask for. But if ye count the favours of God, never will ye be able to number them" (Qur'an 14:34).

The argument that too few resources and too many desires cause the economic problem is not acceptable from the Islamic point of view. The cause of the economic problem is, on the one hand, misuse or disuse of resources and energies, which can be considered ingratitude toward [God's] blessings, and, on the other hand, bad distribution and selfishness in regard to wealth and income because of injustice among men.

A World Bank report on a study that the Club of Rome presented in 1972 under the title "Limits of Development" points out this fact. It says: "Bad distribution of the world's resources, not mere insufficiency of them, is the real problem that confronts mankind."

What John Young said in an article in THE TIMES of 7 August 1987 under the title "A World Hungry for Wealth" points to the same idea: "Never have the mountains of food risen so high, yet never has this been accompanied by such a number of hungry people."

World production, particularly of food, actually exceeds mankind's requirements, at the very time when millions are suffering from malnutrition, poverty, and hunger despite being concentrated in countries with an apparent abundance of resources.

Brotherhood and mutual responsibility between Muslims:

Islam makes it incumbent upon [individual] Muslims to be brothers in many ways. It imposes mutual responsibility on them and makes the "measure of sufficiency"—the measure of wealth—a basis for this mutual responsibility.

[Islam demands] commitment to the principle of Islamic self-sufficiency. This principle entails self-reliance and independence; thus there will be no profession, calling, or field without members of the Islamic community active in it. Otherwise, the entire society will be at fault—unless, that is, some of its members satisfy the need of the society in the area being discussed.

## 2. Building the Muslim man upon the values of Islam:

Stated more correctly, one must rebuild the Muslim man who has been subjected to the most vicious plans to Westernize him and deprive him of all connection to his roots, language, creed, values, heritage, and culture. This began with colonialism, military occupation, the educational system, the cultural practices, etc., that were imposed on the Islamic community. These factors completely distanced the community from the sources of its authenticity and strength and subjected it to backwardness and perpetual subservience to its occupiers. The process culminates in the economic, sectarian, and cultural neocolonialism that seeks to entrench subservience and do away with any forces capable of restoring to this man—this community's pillar and its hope for progress—his strength and initiative.

The Muslim man, ravaged by these malicious plots, must be rebuilt according to the values of Islam—values latent in his inmost conscience. A good system of education is needed—one that will seek to resurrect these values and make them active in life. These values are closely connected to development and cultivation. They range from the promotion of science and work, to the ranking of work as a supreme religious devotion. [They include] linking knowledge to the achievement of benefit for society, the realization of integrity in expenditure, the encouragement of capital formation and preservation, the integration of public and private interests, and linkage of the individual to society so that Islam becomes the path of his life and guide of his behavior, his first and last reference in all that pertains to religious or worldly matters. Each of the world's nations shapes its educational system according to the theory of life in which it believes. At the same time, the Muslim society must be



rebuilt in accordance with the values of Islam, by implementing [the principles of] Islam in all religious, economic, political, cultural, and ethical affairs of the society.

Building autonomous strength, realizing self-development, and moving forward in all economic, social, and other areas is not just a matter of material resources. More fundamentally, it pertains to the human being, the moral rather than the material forces, that contain him and that he contains, and that turn him into an active force: sincerity, knowledge, dedication, proficiency, beneficence, and justice. The role of the human element in development is decisive; without it, development will never be realized, no matter how abundant the material resources may be. When the human element is present, the region poorest in resources can be transformed into the most advanced and flourishing region. The human being is the independent variable; development is the dependent variable. As the human being stands in regard to these qualities, so will the economy vary. God Almighty spoke truly when he taught us and directed us toward this fact by saying: "Verily God will never change the condition of a people until they change it themselves." (Qur'an 13:11)

Perhaps the best testimony is the reality that we are living and that surrounds us. Neither money from income in foreign currencies, nor financial aid, nor technical assistance, nor loans during the last 10 years have been able to lift a single African nation from its backward state to the initial stage of self-reliance and self-sufficiency, despite the diversity and abundance of resources with which God has endowed Africa, not to mention a market that comprises more than 600 million people and that will reach 800 million people by the end of the century.

The messenger of God indicates to us the foundations and scope of the Muslim's Islamic education in this noble saying: "No servant of God will move from his place on the Day of Judgment until he has been questioned about four elements of his character: his life, and in what endeavor he invested it; his youth, and in what pursuit he wore it out; his wealth, whence he acquired it and on what he spent it; and his work, what he wrought in it." He also said, "Devotion [to God] consists of ten parts, nine of which are [to be employed] in the pursuit of lawful [gain]"—i.e., in work and production. "You are in charge of one of Islam's border posts; do not be overcome by what is before you."

All of man's endeavors—which he is authorized to pursue as a result of being appointed [God's] viceroy on earth [cf. Qur'an 2:30] and being charged with cultivating the earth—are viewed as acts of devotion to God, may He be praised and exalted, and man is rewarded for them. If a man is brought up according to this concept of devotion, he will fear God in every deed he performs. He will dedicate himself to it and will master every aspect of it. He will seek lawful gain through it, because it is a

devotion, and God accepts only what is good. God is the Overseer and the Judge. "He knows the treachery of the eyes and what the breasts conceal" (Qur'an 40:19). He knows one's intentions and the truth of one's resolve and one's purpose:

"Say: 'Everyone acts according to his own disposition: But your Lord knows best who it is that is best guided on the Way'" (Qur'an 17:84).

Since man has been appointed a viceroy on earth and commanded to cultivate it, Islam takes an interest in building up the human being on a foundation of values that make him a solid base and an impelling force for economic development and cultivating the earth. The most important of these values are:

1. Values that constitute preconditions for development:

—Being a viceroy of God, which implies cultivation of the earth.

—The community's obligation to achieve stability, security, order, and cooperation.

—Since time will never return, even unto the Day of Resurrection, it should be put to good use rather than wasting it on vain endeavors.

2. Values that represent direct participation in development:

—Work, in its economic sense: It is one of the best forms of devotion, the standard by which the relative excellence of men is determined in this life and the hereafter.

—The preservation of wealth: Wealth is the stay of life; improving it and looking after it are improvement of life itself; squandering it is no less serious than national disunity.

—Increasing production and regulating consumption, so that all will enjoy the life they live, and so that crises might be avoided.

3. Values that represent a bulwark safeguarding continued progress:

—Knowledge, its continual pursuit, and reverence for scholars.

—Respect for specialization, and commitment to objectivity:

"God Most Gracious: Ask thou, then, about him of any acquainted (with such things)" (Qur'an 25:59)

"If ye realise this not, ask of those who possess the Message" (Qur'an 16:43)

—Knowledge as a method for realizing benefit, not as an end: "I take refuge in Thee from useless knowledge."

—Skill, effort, progress, and excelling. "You are in charge of one of Islam's border posts; do not be overcome by what is before you."

Thus the Muslim person is to be built up upon the values of Islam, so that he can realize the Path of Islam, demonstrate in a tangible manner his gratitude to God for the honor of being viceroy on earth, and do justice to the momentous responsibility which has been entrusted to him.

3. Holding fast to the Rope which God stretches out, and facilitating brotherhood, mutual responsibility, and economic integration:

—Holding fast to the Rope of God, which is His Glorious Qur'an, is a command and an obligation from God:

"And hold fast, all together, by the Rope which God (stretches out for you), and be not divided among yourselves." (Qur'an 3:103).

It is the pillar, the core on which one relies and around which all the forms of brotherhood, unity, mutual responsibility, and integration revolve.

Holding fast to the Rope of God, together with brotherhood and unity in Islam—these have been the essence and foundation of Islam ever since God graciously bestowed Islam on humanity.

In Islam, brotherhood is a duty. Men are gathered under the banner of Islam on the basis of belief, first and last. Islam creates brotherhood between them, a brotherhood that takes precedence over the brotherhood of kinship and that establishes duties and rights for brothers in Islam—individuals, peoples, and nations. It is a brotherhood that transcends the boundaries of color, race, homeland, and nationality: "The believers are but a single brotherhood" (Qur'an 49:10)—not factions, divisions, or parties. "The believers, men and women, are protectors, one of another" (Qur'an 9:71). "The Muslim is the brother of the Muslim." And, "One believer is to the other as a building whose parts strengthen one another."

—This Islamic brotherhood makes it incumbent upon Muslims to gather under the banner of Islam and its law in oneness and unity—unity of thought, unity of action, and unity of goal. In outward appearance, [this brotherhood] takes one of the forms of Islamic unity. In essence, it orders rights and duties between brothers in Islam and within the Islamic unity. It embodies these in mutual social responsibility and economic integration, these two being the essence of Islamic unity and its minimal constituents. It can take many forms, depending on the condition of the Islamic world, including an [Islamic] grouping, an Islamic Union, or United Islamic States,

which would have the powers of a higher government, and which would gather together resources, fortify efforts, unify policies, coordinate the resources of the community, and facilitate movement between various parts of the community in order to achieve economic integration and build up self-reliance.

The realization of Islamic unity in a form based on Islamic belief—not on nationalism, race, geography, sectarianism, or "revolutionism"—will lead the Islamic world to an enormous leap whereby it will leave behind the [present] stage of stagnation and backwardness for a stage of progress. All the elements of progress and development are abundantly present in the Islamic world: financial, human, and natural resources, as well as expertise. If these were brought together, they could establish a gigantic state which, in view of its superior and accumulating resources, would possess the greatest and most complete Path ever revealed by God to humanity. Thus it would be "the best community ever evolved for mankind" (Qur'an 3:110).

Furthermore, holding fast to the Rope of God and the realization of brotherhood and Islamic unity will give the Islamic world a spirit of initiative, determination, and animation—an insistence upon progress, excellence, self-reliance, and the realization of economic profit.

Economic integration, which is one of the fundamentals of holding fast to the Rope of God and of Islamic unity, will give the Islamic community many benefits; some of these benefits are:

—Great resources, which will enable the community to build a self-reliant and self-sufficient force for development.

—Availing to each country an abundance of resources which that country lacks but which are plentiful in other countries. Thus each country will be able to use its surplus resources to supply the countries that need them, facilitating satisfaction, self-sufficiency, and self-reliance for everyone. At the level of the Islamic community, economic integration will bring about complete, coordinated, and balanced development that uses all resources to serve the welfare of the community.

—Within the Islamic community, economic integration will create an economic power and a large, extensive market of enormous capacity. This will usher in the savings facilitated by integration, large-scale production, and an internal trade free of exploitation. Self-sufficiency in importing and exporting will be realized. At the international level, [economic integration] will make [the Islamic community] a negotiating power, sufficiently important to deal with the external world from a position of strength, not a position of weakness as is the case now. [The Islamic community will be able] to impose just terms in regard to its imports and exports as well as stop the vicious exploitation and wicked injustice that the countries of the Islamic world—and with them

the other countries of the Third World—suffer from. Included here are the unfair trade conditions that advanced countries impose for their own benefit and that bring ruin and destruction to the development programs and economies of developing countries.

—Surplus petroleum revenue will be used to finance development in the Islamic World; the payment of interest and foreign loans will be avoided. Islam believes that reliance on the external world for foreign capital contradicts the idea of real development. Perhaps the state of affairs in the developing countries confirms the truth of this view and shows us, too, why God outlaws interest. Statistics have proved that the flow of capital from developing countries has come to exceed the flow into those countries. Such bleeding exhausts them and poses a serious threat to their existence; it is loans that must be blamed for this situation. Conditions in these countries have so deteriorated that, as an expert with the World Bank states, "The Third World would have been in a better situation had the loans been denied."

—According to the rules of Islam, wealth generated by minerals from Islamic soil is the property of the Islamic community; at the very least, 20 percent of such minerals does not belong to the region in which they are found. The percentage should be used to finance the needs of Muslims at large; it amounts to a sum of more than \$50 billion, and would be sufficient to fund development at the level of the Islamic world; it would facilitate self-reliance in financing as well as self-sufficiency.

The matter is not limited to self-reliance and the realization of self-sufficiency in financing. Economic integration would provide an opportunity for optimal exploitation of resources at the level of the Islamic community. By Divine will, these resources were distributed in a way that itself calls for and gives incentive to integration. For where there are no surplus funds, there is neither work nor agricultural land; and where there is agricultural land, there are no laborers and no surplus funds; and where there are laborers in countries with a deficit, the surplus is smaller. This insures maximum development in the individual parts of the Islamic community and in the community as a whole.

#### 4. Organizing production:

Islam fosters work. It urges increased production, economic development, and the achievement of self-sufficiency in all areas, especially necessary ones, so as to achieve cultivation and assure the safety and independence of the Islamic community.

Islam sets production and the pursuit thereof among the highest acts of devotion, because production assists in [the performance of] other acts of devotion. Production is a means of safeguarding and protecting society: it satisfies society's needs and averts attacks against it. But even before this, it is a mandate from God Almighty. The messenger [of God] (may blessing and peace be upon

him) directs us and explains this status in the following words: "Devotion [to God] consists of ten parts, nine of which are [to be employed] in the pursuit of lawful [gain]"—i.e. in the pursuit of production.

The production of what Muslim society requires is a collective duty incumbent upon every capable individual, as well as upon the state. If the individual is not capable, the duty becomes incumbent on the state.

This interest in production—rather, in devotion to God by means of production—calls for fostering of resources, seeking for them the best investment opportunities, and attending to their upkeep and improvement out of gratitude for [God's] generosity.

Production of all the required materials (whether agricultural or industrial) needed for the Islamic community and the Islamic community, realization of the community's self-sufficiency so that it does not need anyone else and thereby maintains its independence—these are the duty incumbent upon the Islamic community if it is to avoid the disgrace of subservience and the pressures of need, become powerful in confronting crises and challenges, and preserve its real independence in all its affairs. Whoever does not control his sustenance does not possess his freedom; whoever does not control his will, does not control his decision.

A strategy for production should be set. It should be implemented in a manner which facilitates the highest standard of living in light of available resources and in light of Islamic values.

This strategy consists in providing the "measure of sufficiency"—a measure of wealth, rather than a measure of subsistence, which is a measure of poverty according to the prescriptive schools [of law]—for all citizens not just an average. In other words, poverty must be totally abolished within Islamic society. This is a goal that has not been realized even in the countries with the highest income—the most advanced and the wealthiest.

The "measure of sufficiency" is the measure of wealth that removes the individual from the state of poverty and need and places him in the state of wealth defined by the standards of his age. Thus, it includes provision of food, clothing, housing, tools of production, education, means of transportation, discharge of debts, marriage, and recreation.

In Islam, production is not directed by the interest of those with purchasing power. It is directed by the need of the citizens, whether or not purchasing power is present. The state establishes such regulations and passes such legislation as will make this an actual reality. This it does by regulating ownership and legislating for almsgiving, mutual responsibility, and benevolence.



## SUDAN

### Foreign Minister Considered 'Insular', 'Less Than Effective'

45000023c Khartoum SUDAN TIMES in English  
8 Feb 88 p 3

[Article by Bona Malwal in the "Focus On" column: "Much Ado About Nothing in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] The recent events and suspensions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have once again brought to the forefront the rather tenuous position that this particular ministry holds in our public life. Once more, an incumbent cabinet minister, when put under pressure by his colleagues, has failed to counter-attack against his critics and detractors and has instead turned insular and attempted to commit 'hari kari' with his own officials.

The particular instance that I am referring to is, of course, the recent one week long suspension of the Acting Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, Mirghani Suleiman Khalil, and the Director of Consular Affairs at the ministry, Abdalla Ibrahim, by the incumbent minister, Dr Mamoun Sinada. The two men were suspended by the minister after his ministry was made the scapegoat, at a full meeting of the Council of Ministers, for the assassination of the Iraqi Shiite opposition leader, El Mahdi Mohsin El Mahdi El Hakim at the Khartoum Hilton in January. Apparently, that cabinet meeting was of the opinion that El Hakim should never have been granted an entry visa for the Sudan in the first place, with the logic being that, if he hadn't come to this country in the first place, then he would never have been assassinated here. It seems that rather than defend his ministry in the light of such unjustified criticism from his colleagues, Dr Sinada meekly accepted his new role as the scapegoat and decided to offload the blame on the officials working underneath him. Dr Sinada seemed almost to accept that the issue of the visa was the crux of the assassination affair as opposed to the other much more damaging aspects such as the demonstrative lax security in the national capital, the suspected use of a diplomatic car by the assassins and the knowledge that such a professionally carried out killing could have happened anywhere, even in Washington and London. Fortunately, within a week, the minister came to his senses and ordered the two suspended officials to return to work, absolving them of any blame in the affair. Many people would like to let the matter rest there, saying that all's well that ends well, however, it is not as simple as that.

For sometime now, there has been a noticeable tendency amongst politicians in this country to blame others for their own inadequacies, shortcomings and failings. It has been especially true of the cabinet ministers of the governments of Sadiq El Mahdi since May 1986. The ministers wallow in any glory that comes their way, but as soon as the going gets tough, they turn on others in

their search for a scapegoat. The present case is a prime example of this. First of all, a politically embarrassing murder is committed in Khartoum. Then the collective voice of the government, that is the cabinet, seeks to rid itself of that embarrassment by turning on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Then the Minister of Foreign Affairs seeks to rid himself of any blame by turning on the public officials at his ministry. Quite frankly, I cannot see any valid reason why the two public officials were suspended over the El Hakim assassination.

The minister claimed to be suspending the two men whilst he procured the full facts of the matter. Therefore, deciding upon their guilt without giving them a chance to defend themselves. Surely, if Dr Sinada wished to discover the facts of the matter, then the two people best suited to provide him with the facts would have been the two men that he forthrightly suspended. Did he really suspect these two public officials of complicity in the assassination? Did he really suspect that they would begin shredding documents over the issue of one poultry visa by the Embassy in London? Why did Dr Sinada zero in on these two particular public officials? All of these questions are difficult to answer unless one is also a beleaguered cabinet minister, it would seem.

The Iraqi opposition leader came to Khartoum to attend the National Islamic Front (NIF) General Assembly. That Assembly was attended by invited guests, from all over the Moslem world. Without knowing all the ins and outs of how visas are allocated and issued by embassies around the globe, it is a fairly safe bet to assume that, in this instance, the Foreign Ministry in Khartoum sent out instructions to the embassies to facilitate the entry into Sudan of invited guests to the Assembly. As such, it is highly unlikely that any special instructions were personally issued by either the Acting Undersecretary or the Director of Consular Affairs, concerning the one particular individual, Mahdi Mohsin Mahdi El Hakim. Does the ministry keep a list of names of those people around the world who are likely to be assassinated? Would the Iraqi have been on that list even if it existed? Is that a reason in itself to prevent someone from visiting this country? After all, the Chairman of the PLO visits our capital regularly and his name must be prominent on Zionist hit lists.

Observing the events from without, it seems to me that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the victim of two things. Firstly, it was made the scapegoat for a political killing that had really nothing to do with it, and the ineptitude of the incumbent minister allowed this to happen rather than choosing to defend his ministry against the unwarranted attacks. Secondly, the ministry was singled out for criticism along with the Interior Ministry because of partisan political intrigue. Both of the ministries are currently held by the junior partner in the coalition, the DUP. That is an unacceptable state of affairs, but one that is consistent with the fate of the Foreign Ministry since the latter years of the now defunct Nimeiri regime.

In the recent past, the Foreign Ministry has been less than effective in the political life of our country. Far less than ought to be expected of such an elitist sector of our public administration. The ministry has consistently failed to take the lead in foreign policy formulations ever since Nimeiri deliberately weakened the roles of the minister and his top officials by removing their powers and centering them in the People's Palace amongst his trusted clique. Foreign Affairs became Nimeiri's main instrument for managing the affairs of state in his later years, particularly with regards to the national economy. Following the overthrow of the dictator in 1985, many people hoped that the situation would change and that importance would once again be given to the role of Foreign Ministry. However, since the 1986 elections, Foreign Ministers have come and gone in quick succession. Each has failed to assert the Ministry's role in the formulation of foreign policy. Dr sinada is the latest to have failed to restore confidence in the ministry and his recent actions are, if anything, indicative of this. As in the day of Nimeiri, foreign policy is being directed from without the ministry. However, unlike the days of Nimeiri, when the People's Palace became the sole manager and implementor of foreign policy, we now have the situation where there is a free-for-all in its formulation. The Prime Minister manages his own foreign policy at the Council of Ministers. Each cabinet minister seems intent on pursuing his own policy at ministerial level. Even political parties are branching off in this direction with the recent "official" diplomatic missions to Arab countries undertaken by the SUP Patron, Mohamed Osman El Mirghani. As a result of all these initiatives and sometimes conflicting policies, there is no ultimate collective foreign policy and certainly no collective responsibility in this field, especially amongst the cabinet ministers.

To make matters worse, the Foreign Minister has quite often accompanied these party political missions abroad, thus lending official sanction to them. This, he has done instead of protesting at the encroachment of party politics into the realm of foreign policy. It is a bizarre state of affairs that would not be found or tolerated in any other country in Sudan's position. Rather, any other country would evolve a non-partisan foreign policy and the political parties would refrain from undue involvement in its implementation.

What is needed now, is for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to put its house in order, and, through the person of the minister, to reclaim its functions, thus restoring public confidence in it. For example, the ministry seems to be over-crowded with a large number of diplomats who have returned to public service following the overthrow of Nimeiri. They all claim to have been political victims of the dictator. However, it is public knowledge that many of them were quite rightly dismissed for personal misconduct and gross inefficiency. There are ninety or more Ambassadors that are presently without an assignment. By either thinning its ranks or putting these people to use, the ministry could embark on the

road to reorganisation that will restore confidence in it. Even now, the ministry only has an Acting Undersecretary rather than a permanent one. This situation must be altered. (A new Under Secretary was appointed at the end of last week, after this piece was written.)

The choice is quite straight forward. The minister can take it upon himself to restore the foreign ministry to its rightful place in our public life, even though it will be no easy task, or he can oversee its demise by letting his cabinet colleagues ride roughshod over him and by becoming insular and disloyal to the public officials that serve him.

/9274

### **Northern Parties Reportedly Compete To Dominate South**

45000023a Khartoum SUDAN TIMES in English  
1 Feb 88 p 3

[Article by Bona Malwal in the "Focus On" column: "Whose War This Actually Is"]

[Text] The various political parties in Northern Sudan have always vied with each other to see who could present themselves as being the toughest when dealing with the Southern question. This competition between them has helped them to establish different identities out of remarkably similar policy positions and was being fought even before independence in 1956. When the SPLA captured the small border villages of Kurmuk and Gissan last November, it provided those same Northern political parties with the opportunity to regenerate that competition with a vengeance. Now that the recapture of the two villages by the Armed Forces has been executed, and now that it has, for the time being, sated the psychological appetite of the Northern parties for dominance over the South, perhaps it would be pertinent to point out the obvious in this protracted civil war of ours.

Northern Sudanese politics thrives on the civil war. That war has been an instrument successfully wielded over the years by the various political parties. None of the parties would ever appreciate being considered "weak" on the Southern question. Such an attitude has contributed more fuel to the civil war over the years than most other factors because, inherently, it prevents any lasting peace agreement from being introduced and maintained. Thus, even if the recent events at Kurmuk and Gissan eventually pave the way for a new peace settlement, one would have to wonder how permanent it could be without a change in attitude amongst the ruling Northern elite. It would not be too far fetched to imagine any peace agreement going in the same direction as the 1947, 1955, 1965 and 1972 agreements, and being unilaterally abrogated by the North.

The most obvious manifestation of the Northern attitude was the recent behaviour of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) following the SPLA capture of Kurmuk.

Here was a Northern political party racked by internal division, relegated to junior partner in the coalition government by the 1986 elections, plagued by inept performances from its government ministers and desperately seeking an opportunity to resurrect its dying public image in relation to its arch-competitor the Umma party. Thus, the Mirghani family's DUP leapt to the forefront at the fall of Kurmuk successfully whipping up war hysteria amongst the ill-informed and easily persuadable riverain Northern population. Undoubtedly the DUP seized the chance to use events at Kurmuk as a partisan political weapon to use against their fellow Northern political competitors, and especially, to embarrass their senior coalition partner, the Umma party.

On the day after the news was made public that Kurmuk had fallen, the DUP Chairman of the Council of State, Ahmed Ali El Mirghani headed off for the Advanced Army Command post at Damazin to declare to the soldiers that the war had now reached the North and the enemy needed to be swiftly repelled and punished more or less for that fact alone. The Chairman seemed not to realise that Kalogi, Talodi, Um Dorein and Keilak are all in Northern Sudan and had all been subjected to SPLA attack in recent years, thus suggesting ulterior motives on the part of the DUP for seizing upon the fall of Kurmuk. That aside, Ahmed Ali El Mirghani established a public War Fund by donating one hundred thousand pounds of public funds to it. From that moment onwards, the unlikely war heroes in the DUP hoisted their banner and began their partisan crusade.

The merchant class, which provides the financial backbone of DUP support, rallied to the cause and donated large sums of money to the War Fund. This financial offensive was then equalled in intensity by the "diplomatic" efforts of the DUP Patron, Mohamed Osman El Mirghani around the Arab world as he explained the "true facts" about Kurmuk and Gissan to the various Arab leaders. He was able to raise both financial and military support from the ill-informed Arab leaders by playing up to their every prejudice concerning race and religion. The Deputy Secretary-General of the DUP, Sid Ahmed El Hussein played his part in the charade by climbing on top of the food donated for the war displaced people of Kurmuk and Gissan and declaring: "This food convoy was put together by members of the DUP."

Meanwhile, the Umma party was feeling far from comfortable with the partisan way in which events were moving. Initially, perhaps more out of embarrassment than anything else, the Prime Minister's party went along with the DUP's game over Kurmuk. But then, in the light of day when they saw which way the DUP was leading them in, the Umma tried to play down the issue. Surprisingly, the Umma leadership maintained that war was war and the fall of Kurmuk and Gissan was only another episode in the civil war and no more significant than previous episodes in the war. Naturally, Kurmuk and Gissan would eventually be recaptured as part of the

general objective of recapturing all of the rebel-held areas. This moderate reaction was in stark contrast to its reaction to the downing of a Sudan Airways plane over Malakal by the SPLA in August 1986. However, since that event, the Umma party had had more than a year to comprehend the complexity of the war and its detrimental effect on all aspects of life, both socio-economic and political, in the country as a whole.

The Prime Minister, Sadiq El Mahdi travelled to Kampala, Uganda to meet with the Ethiopian leader, Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam and thus play down the foreign aggression element in the events. He even declared upon his return from that trip that there were no Ethiopian troops on Sudanese territory. The Umma Minister of Agriculture, Omer Nur El Dayim, a man not usually given to niceties and mincing his words, was surprisingly restrained and in a nation-wide television broadcast announced that Kurmuk and Gissan were no different from Bentiu, Bor and Akobo and the many other villages that have exchanged hands between the rebels and the Armed Forces in the course of the present civil war. He said that these two border villages would be recaptured in good time.

With hindsight it now seems clear that alone amongst the Northern parties, the Umma appreciated that escalating the war would lead to increased racial and religious tension countrywide and would postpone for the foreseeable future any peaceful settlement. The DUP had no such foresight and that lack of intuition was matched only by their chief competitors for Umma party hand outs, the National Islamic Front (NIF), who are perpetually on the look out for a jihad (holy war) to pursue.

The most intensely offensive aspect of the Kurmuk charade was the way in which the religious factor, non-believer versus Moslem, and the racial factor, besieged Arab versus African horde, was bandied about the Arab world as though some last bastion of religious and racial purity was under the threat of extinction. One would like to believe that it was only a desire to remain in the Northern political game that sent the Prime Minister on a whirlwind visit to Jordan and Libya, the two Arab countries that responded most generously, to ask for weapons. Both countries needed little persuasion because in many ways, both countries have a long history of involvement in our domestic war. Libya has provided air cover for the Armed Forces and has conducted bombing missions ever since the fall of Rumbek, the capital of Lakes Province, to the SPLA in 1986. Jordan, on the other hand has been a regular contributor and readily volunteered an additional thirty million dollars worth of military support after Kurmuk fell. Perhaps, the Prime Minister's visit was merely to thank the Libyans and the Jordanians and this hypothesis could be supported by Sayed Sadiq's reluctance to visit either Damazin, Kurmuk or Gissan until after the recapture operation had been successfully executed by the Armed Forces. That was in stark contrast to the DUP leadership that seemed to be hopping in and out of helicopters



around the Blue Nile Province, making inflammatory and racist statements on the civil war, throughout December. However, none of the major Northern political parties has unsullied hands when it comes to playing the Southern card for partisan political purposes.

Ultimately, the main repercussion of the hysteria that gripped the riverain Northern population during December is that more than ever before in recent times, the country is divided on a religious and racial basis and that bodes ill for the immediate future. The blame for this situation having arisen undoubtedly lies at the doorstep of those Northern political parties who so readily use the civil war as part of their partisan political weaponry.

/9274

**Official Confusion Seen Over Tribal Policy**  
45000023b Khartoum SUDAN TIMES in English  
4 Feb 88 p 2

[Editorial: "Which Minister Represents the Government Policy on the Tribal Militias"]

[Text] The Minister of Interior, Sid Ahmed El Hussein, was quoted this week as saying that the government will not approve the formation of militias under any circumstances. Such a clear statement of policy coming from a senior member of government could not fail in the circumstances to be interpreted as a welcome pointed put down to the recent announcement by the Chairman of the Council of the South, Mathew Obur, of the formation of a new grouping of Southern militias. [sentence as published] But no sooner had the Minister of Interior made his forthright statement when the Minister of Education and a leader of the Umma Party, Bakri Ahmed Adil, said that Southern Sudanese political leaders should return home to the South to fight the rebellion there. And in the same breath as he implicitly supported the approach of Sayed Mathew, he then went on to question the role of the Council of the South which Sayed Mathew leads. In his short history as a cabinet member, the Education Minister has earned a well deserved reputation as a man who removes one foot from his mouth only to replace it with the other one, but even he must realize that the Council of the South was set up by his government and its present Chairman is an appointee of his own party's leader and Prime Minister.

The problem we must address here, however, is not that of the idiosyncrasies of the Minister of Education, but that of the government's policy with respect to tribal militias. The government can not fail to be aware that its attempt to wage war against the SPLA by the proxy use of tribal militias has been an unmitigated failure, as much in political terms as in military terms. Militarily, both the intensity of the war and its scope have expanded considerably despite the involvement of the militias. Indeed, some would argue that the government supported militias by their indiscipline and tribalism have served as recruiting agents for the SPLA. Politically, the

performance of the militias in the field has frequently been a source of considerable embarrassment to the government, as the Daien massacre amply testifies.

The question then is who does speak for the government on security matters? Is it the Interior Minister Sayed Sid Ahmed who has spoke before of the dangers posed by uncontrolled tribal militias which are more interested in pursuing tribal vendettas than in fighting the SPLA, or the Education Minister, Sayed Bakri, who seems to think that the civil war can be ended by shipping more ill-disciplined tribalists to the battle front? This is an important question, and given the confusion created by the two ministers, deserves an unequivocal answer from the Prime Minister.

A basic premise of parliamentary democracy is that of cabinet responsibility, that is that a cabinet minister is bound by the decisions reached in cabinet and that when a cabinet minister speaks, he speaks with the authority of the government. Hence the dangers posed by two cabinet ministers articulating two different government policies. At the crux of the problem is that the government is that in name alone; in fact the Umma-DUP coalition is no closer to being given concrete expression than when the government broke up over its internal wrangling five months ago. The Sid Ahmed-Bakri dispute is simply an element in the on-going DUP-Umma dispute, but it does graphically point out the need for the Prime Minister to bring his warring factions together if the disparate groups he leads are to bear any resemblance to a functioning government capable of coming to grips with the multitude of problems facing this country.

/9274

## TUNISIA

**Canadian Wheat Donation**  
45190024c Tunis LE TEMPS in French 13 Jan 88 p 3

[Text] A boat recently docked in the port of Bizerte carrying 25,000 metric tons of Canadian soft wheat, amounting to a gift of 5 million Canadian dollars.

This food aid is aimed at strengthening the balance of payments of Tunisia and, to a lesser extent, reducing the food deficit. It also implements the political will of the Canadian government to help the new Tunisian government in its economic recovery plan. 6857

**International Development Center Launched**  
45190024b Tunis LE TEMPS in French 23 Jan 88 p 2

[Text] "The National Center for Development in Tunisia" was created after obtaining the prescribed visa. It is an organization specializing in research and development and working jointly with the International Development Association to which it belongs. Establishing a dialogue around issues pertaining to development and the propagating of knowledge and research methods in



the matter of development are the goals pursued by this center, along with bolstering structures for development, identifying horizons new to cooperation and development relations among the various countries and participating in the solving of developmental problems.

The work program of the "International Center for Development in Tunisia" includes, among other things, the organization of conferences, workshops and seminars allowing participants to exchange their views, knowledge and skills in the matter of development.

It also intends to establish relations of cooperation with international organizations and authorities pursuing the same goals as it does.

The publication of information bulletins aimed at large audiences and authorities concerned with developmental issues is also on its program.

The ambition of the leadership committee, which supervised the launching of this organization, is to serve the country and participate in the implementation of goals to promote development and citizens' emancipation; public authorities have also adopted these goals.

The following people make up the leadership committee:

Mahmoud Messaadi, chairman; Raouf Bacha, Ahmed Zribi and Sadok Belara, vice-chairman; Farouk Ray, general secretary; Abdelkarim Hamrouni, deputy secretary general; Ezzeddine Bouhliha, treasurer; Mongi Sarrai, deputy treasurer; and Tahar Ben Youssef, Laroussi Gmach and Salah Mida, members. 6857

#### **500 Million Dollar Aid Agreement Signed With Italy**

45190024a Tunis LE TEMPS in French 23 Jan 88 p 3

[Text] Italy will grant Tunisia an aid of \$500 million for the next 3 years (1988-1990). An agreement to that effect was signed on Friday, 22 January in Tunis by Ahmed Ben Arfa, secretary of state in charge of international cooperation, and Mario Raffaelli, Italian secretary of state for cooperation. This aid, made up essentially of

public credits, is being granted at very advantageous conditions. The credits will be repayable over 20 years at an interest rate of 1.75 percent.

This aid is divided, grosso modo, in three portions. The first is a \$250 million dollar aid-program to bolster the recovery effort of the Tunisian economy began 2 years ago. A second portion of nearly \$175 million, under the heading of aid-projects, will allow the financing of job-generating projects. The third portion, amounting to \$60 million, is for technical cooperation.

The two parties expressed their satisfaction following the signing of the protocol which will be made official the next time the Italian minister of foreign affairs comes to Tunisia to cochair with his Tunisian counterpart the meeting of the great Tunisian-Italian joint commission.

The Tunisian government sees the aid granted by Italy as "a contribution instrumental in the success of the seventh development plan" and an expression of a "disinterested choice on the part of Italy." Ahmed Ben Arfa did not hesitate to characterize the Italian aid as "the one which answers best our concerns and needs."

As for the Italian government, it views its aid to Tunisia as an expression of the friendship which it has for that country and, above all, as the implementation of a political attitude. "We have always judged as positive the role which Tunisia has played in the region," recalled Raffaelli. In Rome, it is thought that "the positions of the new Tunisian government strengthen this status." He said that the financial effort, which the Italian government agreed to make, finds an ultimate and not inconsiderable justification in "domestic liberalization trends and the evolution toward a democratic and pluralist model." 6857

#### **Unemployment Figures**

45190024d Tunis LE TEMPS in French 18 Jan 88 p 2

[Text] The unemployed account for 14.1 percent of the working-age population, whose ages range from 18 to 59. These statistical data, prepared by the INS [National Institute of Statistics] services, give an idea of the scope of the unemployment which primarily affects the young people.

6857

## INDIA

### Article Examines Hindu Communal Party's Search for Power

#### RSS-BJP Links Discussed

46000095a *Cochin THE WEEK in English*  
24-30 Jan 88 pp 12-18

[Article by R. Prasannan and R. Balashankar. Words in italics as published]

[Text] Two significant developments marked the Nagpur conclave of the wise men of RSS around Vijayadasami last year. One was RSS chief Balasaheb Deoras's statement that "there is no alternative to Congress." The other was the appearance of Atal Behari Vajpayee wearing khaki shorts and white shirt at the shakha meeting.

There is an old joke about RSS that its thought goes round in circles—neither forward nor backward. It is drawn from the RSS style of holding discussions sitting in a circle. Many were reminded of the joke when they saw Vajpayee in the RSS uniform. Only two years earlier the hard core among the RSS and BJP had thought that Vajpayee was rather ashamed of BJP's RSS links and had replaced him as BJP president with Lal Krishna Advani.

Vajpayee went into a hibernation after that. He did not campaign during the Haryana election and went on a long convalescence holiday (after all, he had quit party presidentship on "health grounds") abroad and stayed away even from party executive meetings. But now the prodigal seemed to have returned.

The other political parties must have taken note of the fact that the Nagpur conclave was the first meeting of its kind in the last 15 years since the ailing Guru Golwalkar summoned a similar meeting a few months before his death. Moreover, it was attended by almost all prominent BJP leaders and also by leaders of more than three dozen organisations, including the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad and the Vanavasi Kalyan Ashram. At the end of which Deoras dropped the bombshell about the Congress.

The statement marked the first stage of a new three-pronged strategy that RSS reportedly adopted. In fact the Nagpur conclave was summoned only to give shape to the strategy which is a brainchild of H.V. Seshadri, general secretary of RSS.

The first part of the strategy is to create a Hindu lobby at the national level which would be led by religious leaders like the Shankaracharyas and other eminent sanyasins. These leaders would campaign for 'Hindu-minded' candidates in elections, irrespective of their political affiliation.

The second part envisages an attempt to reactivate the BJP. Over the years, the Hindu backlash has been benefiting the Congress rather than the BJP which had hoped to cash in on it. Now the enviable grassroots organisation of RSS would actively help BJP to garner votes.

But RSS is not putting all its eggs in the BJP basket. It has found that the Congress just cannot be wished away, the V.P. Singhs notwithstanding. Moreover, the Congress is still the darling of the moderate Hindu who speaks for the biggest majority of this country's population. The ungodly secular Hindus have gone to the left and the militant Hindu is already in the bag of RSS or like-minded organisations, believes the RSS. So the third part of the strategy is to build bridges with the Congress, which has so far won the majority Hindu votes.

But has the RSS the potential to put the strategy into motion? "The sangh has the ideology and organisation but no leadership," says Balraj Madhok, who left the BJP criticising its weak-kneed approach. Maybe true. But the RSS is not just relying on its leadership this time.

Instead, it is relying on the Hindu religious leaders whose gift of the spiritual gab can sway masses, and its own 30 lakh workers all over the country, which would mean an average of 5,000 RSS members in every parliamentary constituency. Until now these 5,000 worked either for BJP candidates or for none. With the result that no political party, let alone the reluctant BJP, could exploit the tremendous potential of the determined RSS worker. Now any 'Hindu-minded' candidate would be offered his services free.

In the given situation, the so-called 'Hindu-minded' candidates are most likely to be found in the Congress and BJP and perhaps a handful in the Janata and the Jan Morcha. But the Janata too has certain leftist preoccupations and its candidates are unlikely to welcome RSS support. The Jan Morcha is yet to make up its mind about its allies.

But would the Congress welcome the RSS support? It may, given the nature of leadership it has got today. Political analysts are convinced that it is not the left-leaning N.K. Singhs who call the shots in the Congress but the rightist D.P. Mishras, Uma Shankar Dixits and N.C. Chaturvedis. Moreover, the average Congressman in the north is finding himself caught between the conflicting communal ideologies of the Sikh, Hindu and Muslim organisations. Naturally he will be increasingly pushed towards the RSS ideology, or so thinks the RSS leadership.

Some of the recent statements of certain Congress leaders are pointers to general thinking in the party. Said Uma Shankar Dixit: "I personally feel that if we have the same kind of relationship with the RSS that we had with the communists during Mrs Gandhi's time then there

would be nothing objectionable... If BJP in its own interest or in the interest of the country wants to help the Congress...why should we be reluctant?"

Another statement, by Mishra this time, is reflective of the new pragmatic line in the Congress. "Hindus are in the majority in India. It is correct that we are secular... We have to pay more attention to them (the minorities). But if that harms the party who will vote for it?"

There are indications that one of the first testing grounds for the new strategy is the 23 January elections to the local bodies in Kerala where the BJP Hindu Munnani combine has informally aligned with the Congress-led front to fight the communist-led front. And the Shiv Sena of Bal Thackeray has already begun courting the RSS as was evident in the Ville-Parle byelection in Bombay recently, which was won by the Sena on a purely communal platform.

RSS believes that the Congress(I) won hands down in the 1984 general elections and helped Farooq Abdullah win the elections to the Jammu and Kashmir assembly on a Hindu platform. In other words, through the BJP lost those elections but the BJP platform did work. True, the RSS did not work for the Congress. But as Janata leader Chandra Shekhar put it, "it is not the RSS men but the RSS mind which has worked for the Congress."

The RSS mouthpiece *Organiser* described Rajiv Gandhi's victory as "a massive Hindu mandate...It was a conscious Hindu vote, consciously and deliberately solicited by the Congress(I) as a Hindu party...The Congress has stolen the BJP clothes."

Obviously, RSS is now thinking of letting the thief keep the loot but would like to claim credit for giving it away. But it appears that the RSS has not been taking the BJP into confidence while arriving at the change of approach. Said L.K. Advani: "Here we are finding it difficult to convince people that the RSS did not work for the Congress. Then the *Organiser* comes out with such a lead story!"

Present indications are the BJP will have to accept the new situation as a fait accompli. And though belatedly, RSS has begun to persuade BJP that this new long-term strategy would benefit it, too. Some of the comments of the leaders of RSS and its front organisations have this persuasive tone.

Dattopant Thengadi, founder-leader of the BMS, for instance, has been telling BJP: "for the nation-builder there is no need for compromise. If ideology could be sacrificed at the altar of electoral considerations there is no use propping up such a party." Even BJP's national executive committee member Jay Dubashi wrote in *Organiser*: "The party has come in for a specially harsh punishment, for in the eyes of the average voter it has deviated from its principles. BJP is nothing without its nationalistic image and it is this image that has been

scoured since 1980...BJP must brush up its image, recast its image in a new national mould and a new modern mould. There is no future in India for anything else."

There is a strong group in RSS which thinks that BJP has become a liability. But as of now, RSS seems to be trying to take BJP along with it in the new offensive. And caught off their guard, the BJP leaders blundered initially. In the last week of October D.P. Mishra, the Congress(I) Chanakya, had a meeting with Advani and Vajpayee in Madhya Pradesh Bhavan in Delhi. Sources close to Mishra told THE WEEK that the meeting was "fruitful," but BJP leaders sabotaged it by leaking the story to the press. BJP was apparently trying to warn V.P. Singh who was still hobnobbing with the communists. The ploy did work as far as V.P. Singh was concerned. He stopped saying things like "communists are my natural allies."

However, D.P. Mishra has not abandoned his efforts. He sent Vasant Sathe to Nagpur and Sathe approached Deoras through the Nagpur University vice-chancellor. The details of the talks are not known.

So the initiative has gone out of BJP's hands. RSS is now telling it to mend its ways or perish. After the 1984 debacle of BJP and the other opposition parties, there was even a demand from a section of RSS men to dump BJP and form a new political party. But Deoras shot the proposal down saying there was no guarantee that the new party would not go the BJP way. According to him, the only course open was to redeem BJP.

BJP too seems to have begun to see reason in the RSS argument. It realises that not only has the Congress robbed it of its original Hindu platform, but also that it can now hope to win only on a secular platform. Said party general secretary J.P. Mathur: "BJP is strong only in states where regionalism, casteism or communalism has no sway. We were strong in UP. We lost with the coming of caste politics."

RSS is also willing to give BJP another chance. One should read the statements of RSS leaders about BJP leaders in this light. RSS joint secretary Rajendra Singh wrote a very laudatory piece about Vajpayee in the *Organiser* on the eve of the latter's 61st birthday in January. He also quoted from a Hindi poem of Vajpayee: "Let somebody tell whether we destroyed any mosque in Kabul. Have I ever killed anyone for the sake of conversion to Hinduism? It is not land that I wish to conquer but the human heart."

The RSS strategy, however, does not go on party lines, but on communal lines. It is in fact looking beyond BJP. It believes that the sadhus and Shankaracharyas have a greater hold on the people than the politicians.

That is why the most important part of the new strategy is to project religious leaders during elections. They will ask the Hindu voters to vote only for those who are

'Hindu-minded.' A margadarshak mandal (steering committee) of religious heads will guide the new Hindu political ship. Says Ashok Singhal of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, a partner of RSS in the new movement: "Hundreds of small groups of sadhus will criss-cross the country spearheading the new offensive. It is in true Hindu tradition. Earlier such *jamaats* used to guide the society and protect it from disintegration. We are reviving the system. The *dharmacharyas* would leave their ashrams; they will no longer be interested only in *atmas* and *paramatmas*."

RSS leaders believe that the present political and communal situation is ideal for their new offensive. An article in *The Times* of London recently warned the world to beware of the angry Hindu. Jay Dubashi says that the angry Hindus are political Hindus and "when they rise even the Himalayas must start trembling." M.V. Kamath wrote in *Organiser* recently: "The Hindu psyche is burdened with accumulated anger...The Hindu wants to be himself in his own country...This is something deep inside him. Maybe it is frightening."

Though politicisation of religion in a democratic policy is a recent phenomenon, RSS does not claim credit for the origin of the idea. Instead it is citing the examples of the Christian social democrats of west European countries and the Buddhist revivalist movement in Japan, known as Soka Gakkai. In India, ironically, it is taking the cue from the Muslim League in Kerala. The League has been riding to power in Kerala on the back of secular parties like the communists and the Congress. Says Swami Chinmayananda, an articulate protagonist of the new idea: "In a democracy vote is the weapon. Vote out the anti-Hindu and if necessary the sadhus would throw away their *kamandal* and *danda*, leave the ashrams and enter politics."

RSS also believes that the Congress has been playing the Hindu card for some years now. For example, just before the 1984 general elections, the DAVP came out with a documentary titled *Bharat ki Pukar*, personifying the country as Bharat Mata and with a full screen image of 'Om.' The documentary also showed Sivaji and Rana Pratap as valiant freedom fighters. Throughout the election campaign the Prime Minister avoided making critical comments about the RSS. There is also a talk among the RSS circles that the Congress government has already taken a decision on the Ram Janmabhoomi issue in favour of the Hindus.

The Congress and Hindu organisations may benefit from all this, but what about the nation? Will not politicisation of Hinduism lead to further communal hatred? And do the Hindu leaders have solutions to social issues, such as sati, dowry system, caste and untouchability?

According to V.P. Bhatia, editor of *Organiser*, the "last 40 years were barren as far as the Hindu society is concerned. The Congress rulers reduced it to an

orphaned state. Hence the primitive tendencies are making a comeback." The Hindu organisations believe that caste and regional tendencies will be relegated to the background in the coming years. "More and more Hindus will vote as Hindus than as supporters of any political party or member of a caste group," says Singhal.

However, Dr Karan Singh of the Virat Hindu, Sammelan seems to be not so thoroughly convinced. "If you pit one religion against another, you are going to destroy the social fabric. It will be disastrous for all religions," he says. But other leaders seem to be thinking only of the electoral confrontation. Said Singhal: "If it comes to Muslims getting politically organised on communal lines, they have to take into consideration that there are only eight Lok Sabha seats they can win on their own." The premise of his logic is that Hindus will not vote for Muslim candidates. Experience however shows that candidates of Muslim League and leaders like Shahabuddin did attract Hindu votes in their constituencies. But Singhal and others believe that the situation is different now.

The Muslim organisations are taking note of the developments in the Congress and RSS. Imam Bukhari of Jama Masjid says: "I don't think this country became independent in 1947. I don't care for Independence Day or Republic Day. One day Muslims will demand a homeland of their own. There is fear in the Muslim mind of the Hindu Rashtra...For me, Islam comes first. Country comes afterwards."

Certainly, the Muslim organisations will not take kindly to the Congress retaining power at the Centre with the support of the RSS and like-minded organisations. Already there is a feeling among the Muslims that the leftists have ditched them, especially in Kerala. But neither in Kerala nor anywhere in the country does the Congress seem to be jumping in to take the Muslims back to its camp.

The Muslim leaders are watching with concern what they describe as the Congress regime abetting the Hindu tide with the help of the official media. They view the *Ramayan* serial on TV and that on the Ganga in this background. And the RSS has no qualms in admitting this. Said V.P. Bhatia: "You cannot show Muhammad Ghor, Genghis Khan or Ghazni marching on the streets of Delhi. To neutralise the effect you may have a serial on Bahadur Shah. But the most popular serial *Ramayan* or *Buniyaad* which started with scenes from the partition days shows what the Indian psyche wants."

### RSS Organization

46000095a Cochin THE WEEK in English  
24-30 Jan 88 pp 14, 15

[Article by R. Balashankar and Ashok Row Kavi; words in italics as published]

[Text] Nagpur, the second capital of Maharashtra, has the distinction of being the headquarters of RSS and of the Dalit movement. Through many think that RSS and



the Dalits are two opposing lines of thinking, the two have never clashed in Nagpur. On the other hand, they have often helped each other. During the annual gathering of the Buddhists at Diksha Bhumi, where B.R. Ambedkar and his followers embraced Buddhism, RSS volunteers set up stalls to distribute cheap food packets and arrange sanitary facilities.

RSS seems to believe in quiet efficiency. Volunteers from different parts of the country live together in the Hedgewar Bhavan and undergo training. This has impressed many Dalits and many of the educated ones among them are joining RSS.

The Dalits, unlike RSS, are plagued by infighting. Their political organ, the Republican Party of India, has two factions, one led by Khobragade and the other by R.S. Gavai. The Gavai group now controls the Diksha Bhumi. Curiously, Prakash Ambedkar, grandson of B.R. Ambedkar, has no control over the Diksha Bhumi affairs.

Such faction fights are unheard of in RSS, which has been growing fast, particularly after the Emergency. In 1977 it had 11,000 sakhas and about 10 lakh members. Today it is said to have 25,000 sakhas and 30 lakh members.

A 1981 report of the home ministry showed that RSS was collecting Rs 1 crore a year as *gurudakshina*, the voluntary contribution. RSS perhaps is the only organisation of its kind that does not receive any funds from abroad.

RSS has over 10,000 full-time workers. The Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, founded by D.B. Thengadi, is now the second largest labour organisation (20 lakh members). Thengadi is now nurturing the Bharatiya Kisan Sangh which is said to be growing in strength in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and then the northern states.

The Vishwa Hindu Parishad, with about 2,500 service centres in the fields of education, health and religion, has about 3,000 full-time workers. Other affiliates of RSS are: Bharatiya Vanvasi Kalyan Ashram, Vidya Bharati, Akhila Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, Deendayal Research Institute (Delhi), Bharatiya Vichar Kendra (Trivandrum), Vivekananda Rock Memorial Committee (Kanyakumar) Seva Bharati (serving in slum areas), Bharatiya Sikshan Mandal of teachers, Itihas Sankalan Yoina (an outfit for preserving and writing Indian history), Sanskar Bharati (an art-literary forum organising exhibitions on culture and film shows), the Bharat Vikas Parishad (an RSS version of Indian chamber of commerce), Friends of India Society and Antar Rashtriya Sahayog Parishad (for overseas Indians.)

The RSS publication wings are Rashtrothana Sahitya of Bangalore, Jnana Ganga Prakashan of Rajasthan, Suruchi Sahitya of Delhi and Jaya Bharat Publications of Kerala. It has three dailies (*Swadesh*, *Yugdharma* and

*Tarun Bharat*) and weeklies in almost all languages. Twenty-two RSS publications are members of the IENS. Some time ago, the Registrar of Newspapers noted that the sangh publications have the maximum readership among party publications.

Yet RSS's biggest drawback is its poor public relations. It rather takes a perverse pleasure in the general misconceptions about it. It often gives the impression of a backward-looking, secretive, reactionary organisation.

Dr Hedgewar founded RSS as a reform movement in the lines of the *bhakti* tradition and inspired by the revolutionary ideals of Vivekananda. However, RSS took the leadership of the Hindu offensive when the Congress began to appease the Muslims. In those days Hindu Mahasabha used to characterise RSS as "a tasteless, colourless, odourless and aimless enterprise." Hindu Mahasabha leader Veer Savarkar once wrote: "The epitaph on a sangh swayamsevak will be: 'He was born, he joined RSS, he died.'"

In recent years the sangh has been going out of its way to erase the stigma attached to it. Its literature is no longer offensive to non-Hindus. In the last two decades there has been no reprint of Golwalker's controversial *We: Or Our Nationhood Defined*, published in 1939. This was the first book to be written on RSS ideology. Even the sangh manifesto, the *Bunch of Thoughts* (first published in 1966), written by Golwalker, has undergone massive editing in its latest edition—17 new sections have been included. During the Emergency, there was a serious debate in the sangh, initiated by Thengadi, to widen the scope of sangh constitution to admit non-Hindus into its fold. However, the move fell through in the Janata days after RSS was made a scapegoat for splitting the party.

Balasaheb Deoras recently said that he was in favour of a more active role for the sangh in politics, but is it not easy for him to make a sudden departure from the trend set by his predecessors. Under Golwalker, RSS is known to have turned 'spiritual.' Faced with the prospect of a ban after Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, the sangh was forced to keep a low profile.

In 1947 many thought that the sangh was in a position to effect a coup. In Delhi it was even running a sakha of ICS officers. It had great clout in the army. But today it is not anywhere to be seen at the decision-making level.

In a note secretly circulated among the RSS brass, K.R. Malkani recounts how events overtook the organisation which gives the impression of a set-up cut out for a political role. It has not been able to come to terms with the realities of the post-independence era. Babasaheb Apte, a top leader of the organisation, had said at the time of the Cripps Mission that RSS must grow so much and so fast that the next time a British mission came to negotiate the transfer of power, it should talk to the

sangh. But neither the subsequent Cabinet Mission nor Wavell nor Mountbatten thought it necessary to have the sangh at the negotiating table.

The sangh did not take a public stand at the time of partition thought it had definitely one totally opposed to that of the Congress. The year 1947 just passed it by. RSS even today does not involve directly in politics; rather it styles itself in the role of a *rajguru*. However, from time to time, it tries to prop up political parties. In fact it depends on the BJP leadership for first-hand political data on the basis of which it formulates its political strategy.

Early this decade, it took a new turn with the launching of the Virat Hindu Samaj, followed by the Ekatmata Yagna. The stress was shifted from politics to religion. Now, once again, the emphasis is on politics.

### RSS Relations With Congress

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[Words in italics as published]

[Text] The Congress and RSS always had a love-hate relationship. Dr K.B. Hedgewar, founder of RSS, was secretary of the Vidarbha unit of the Congress. In the formative years (RSS was founded in Nagpur in 1925) RSS received full support from Congress leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr B.S. Moonjee. Malaviya even offered to collect funds for RSS, but Hedgewar declined. Malaviya had been president of both the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha another parallel Hindu organisation. Moonjee was active in the Mahasabha when he held the post of a secretary in the Congress.

It was the communal award (the separation of constituencies on the basis of religion) of 1934 that made RSS drift away from the Congress. Yet till 1946 Congress leaders never uttered a word against RSS, while the latter received all flak from the Hindu Mahasabha for not accepting its political line. Gandhiji was impressed by RSS after a visit to a camp in Delhi on 14 September 1947.

A section in RSS and the Congress maintained a flexible attitude towards each other. In 1949 Sardar Patel and Congress president Purushottamdas Tandon tried to bring RSS closer to the Congress. The Sardar often rebuked Congressmen who wanted to crush RSS. "By *danda* you cannot suppress an organisation. After all RSS men are not thieves and dacoits. They are patriots, they love their country," he said on 6 July 1948. Patel shocked his colleagues at a Lucknow meeting by inviting RSS to join Congress.

The AICC meeting in October 1949 passed a resolution permitting RSS members to join Congress "in terms of the Congress constitution." But it was later withdrawn at the behest of Nehru. The Congress even offered to lift the

ban on RSS provided that the latter supported it. But Golwalkar refused, and Nehru in any case, was opposed to the idea. He feared a Muslim backlash.

Finally the ban on RSS was lifted in 1949 and Congress president Dr Sitaramayya told a meeting of party workers in Kanpur, "The RSS is not an enemy of the Congress. It is not a communal-political organisation." As late as 1947 Bihar PCC chief (now AICC treasurer) Sitaram Kesri said: "There are more sanghis in Congress than in the Jan Sangh."

Nehru mellowed towards RSS after the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962. He invited it to participate in the Republic Day functions of 1963. After the 1965 war Shastri was impressed by the role RSS played in whipping up patriotic sentiments.

Mrs Gandhi used RSS as a whipping boy for electoral purposes. She was also unhappy with it for supporting the JP movement which ultimately led to its ban. But Marxist leader A.K. Gopalan was impressed with the underground movement launched by RSS during the Emergency. Said he: "There is some lofty ideal which is capable of inspiring such deeds of bravery and stamina for sacrifices."

Mrs Gandhi tried to mend fences with RSS towards the end of the Emergency. In the last week of February 1977 she sent a top bureaucrat to meet RSS leaders Prof. Rajendra Singh, Moropont Pingle, Brahm Dev, Bapurao Moghe and Bhanrao Deoras to strike a deal. However, Balasaheb Deoras, who had sent three letters to Mrs Gandhi from jail to which she had not replied, put his foot down. But when the Janata regime was chasing Mrs Gandhi with a number of cases, Deoras gave a call to forget and forgive.

During the furore over the Meenakshipuram conversions, Mrs Gandhi reportedly sent emissaries asking RSS to create an atmosphere for the government to act. The bridge had been provided by Rajiv Gandhi, the newly elected MP from Amethi. At a meeting convened to felicitate Rajiv at the residence of Dr Karan Singh, the latter expressed his concern over the conversions. Rajiv promised to speak to "mummy" about it.

Karan Singh, who had deserted Mrs Gandhi after her electoral defeat in 1977, was surprised by the quick response from Mrs Gandhi. She invited him along with leaders of Arya Samaj, Sanatana Dharma and other Hindu organisations and told them: "Why don't you also organise yourselves to do something to demonstrate your solidarity and strength? This in turn will strengthen our hands." The first thing that Karan Singh did was to contact RSS provincial pracharak Ashok Singhal. The nucleus of the Virat Hindu Sammelan was thus born. Subsequently, Home Minister Zail Singh, on Mrs

Gandhi's behalf, helped the sammelan in Delhi, and the Ekatmata Yagnas. The ensuing elections in Delhi ended in Congress victory. In the process the BJP was left on the wayside.

It took some time for RSS leaders to realise that Karan Singh was not actually interested in a Hindu political party, but only in a Hindu lobby within the Congress. By the time they realised his motive, some of their own men had been convinced of the plausibility of Karan's argument. But apparently not any more.

### **Hindu, Muslim Private Armies**

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24-30 Jan 88 pp 19

[Article by R. Balashankar. Words in italics as published]

[Text] Behind the sprawling Keshav Kunj, the Delhi headquarters of RSS, is located the office of Indraprastha Vishwa Hindu Parishad. A stone's throw away is the famous Jhandewalan Devi temple. Some years ago the RSS took over the temple by force from Congress(I) men who had allegedly turned it into a vice den.

Baikunath Lal Sharma sits in the VHP office and directs the operations of a private army, the Bajrang Dal. Till recently Sharma was the leader of a Central government employees union. He was the founder-president of the Government Employees National Forum. He resigned his job as a section officer in 1986 to become a full-time worker of VHP. His 5,000-strong Bajrang Dal is just one of the dozens of private armies being raised by Hindu and Muslim leaders ostensibly to protect their religion.

Bajrang Dal has branches in many parts of the country. In Uttar Pradesh it has its largest unit with about a lakh members led by Onkar Bhawe, the all-India organiser. The main activities of the dal are reconversion to Hinduism and preventing Hindu girls from marrying non-Hindus. In the last one year, says Sharma, "we have been able to prevent 70 such marriages in Delhi." Similarly, 98,000 people have been brought back to the 'original faith' all over the country.

From time to time RSS projects new outfits to fight battles which the organisation does not want to take up on its own. At the time of the Meenakshipuram conversions, the Hindu-Manch was organised by RSS pracharak Jagdish Abbrol. Now the manch is under K. Narendra, editor of the daily *Pratap*. The Hindu Manch has about 10,000 men and branches in different states, particularly in Punjab.

In Delhi there are quite a number of senas, some under small-time history-sheets or local dadas and patronised by political parties. Omprakash Arya, who leads the Hindu Shiv Sena, is known to be a Congress supporter.

Veerendra Sharma alias Nagi is the leader of Shiv Shakti Dal. A man with a long criminal record, he has chosen the east district of Delhi across the Yamuna as his area of operation.

Devki Nandan Shastri, a former RSS man, controls the Rashtriya Hindu Shiv Sena which operates in Tilak Nagar and which has in recent times become highly volatile with the influx of refugees from Punjab. Shastri, who claims the support of about 5,000 men, directs his fury on the Sikhs. The group distributes *trishuls* (tridents) and knives among its men. Shastri is said to be getting sustenance from the Congress.

The Bajrang Dal, which has now a 1,000-strong Balidan Dal for liberating holy places like the Ram Janmahoomi, Mathura and Kashi, is a class apart. It innovated the trident as the religious symbol and as an instrument of violence.

The Hindu sena wave is not without a backlash. Leading the Muslim offensive is the young Naib Imam of Delhi Jama Masjid, Syed Ahmed Bhukari. Said Naib Imam to *THE WEEK*: "We are organising in self-defence. Let the government ban the *trishul-dharis* and I will disband my sena."

The Muslim answer to the Hindu trident is *Ali ka panja*, the symbolic palm of Hazrat Ali, the fourth Caliph of Islam. Besides Adam Sena, Muslims have Ali Sena, Al-Jehad (notorious in Delhi and Meerut) and Hyderabad's Jehadi Lashkar.

Adam Sena is the best organised. It has its headquarters at Jama Masjid. It allegedly played a major role in the recent riots in Delhi and Meerut. It is also part of the Imam's design to emerge as the chief spokesman of Indian Muslims. The junior Imam claims that leaders like Shahabuddin "are incapable of delivering the goods to the community."

Adam Sena hold *shakhas* in RSS style and members are imparted training in judo and karate. Its uniform is green shirts, shorts and white caps. Presently it has a membership of 15,000. "It keeps going up," says Ahmed Bukhari.

/12913

### **Militant Literature Said Selling Well in Punjab**

46000096a Cochin *THE WEEK in English*  
24-30 Jan 88 pp 25-27

[Article by G.K. Singh. Words in italics as published]

[Text] Max Beerbohm, the celebrated British humorist, wrote about a poet whose collection of poems sold three copies, one of which was bought by Beerbohm himself. Sant Singh Sekhon, one of the best known writers in



Punjab, has escaped such a fate narrowly—some of his later works have yet to sell out their first editions, a mere 1,000 copies each, even years after their publication.

The literacy rate being low in Punjab, Punjabis have never been known to play up their literary lions, except a few like Waris Shah who wrote poetry on an epic scale. By and large, Punjabi poetry, which has been wrung out of the soil, sings of love, woman and violence.

But the indifference to current masters, even the militant ones like Sekhon, is appalling. It can be explained only in terms of the change in the people's preferences—from the secular to the one which espouses the religious cause and uses the political idiom. Events leading to Operation Bluestar and what followed it have broken down traditional myths, only to raise new ones in their place.

The current bestseller in Punjab is not a work of fiction or poetry. It is a political outpouring, a polemic churned out by Jaswant Singh Kanwal, a popular novelist, which had sold over 25,000 copies in a year till November when it was banned by the Punjab government.

The *Other Zafarnama* (the Other Letter of Victory, the first being that of Guru Gobind Singh to Emperor Aurangzeb) is a long litany of bitter complaints, a sort of white paper countering the one issued by the Government of India immediately after Operation Bluestar. Kanwal had approached the SGPC to counter the government propaganda with the Sikh side of the story. At one time the Akali-dominated establishment had agreed with him. "But for some strange reason, they failed to give a fitting reply to the Government of India," said Kanwal, at his farmhouse in Dhudike village in Faridkot. And so he undertook the work almost singlehandedly.

Kanwal's *Zafarnama* is not the only symptom of the new literature in Punjab. Almost all newspapers following a secular line, especially the *Punjabi Tribune* whose editor Gulzar Singh Sandhu quit last month, have had to contend with a dwindling circulation. *Lok Lehar* of CPI(M) and *Naya Zamana* of CPI have suffered similarly.

Punjabis, it seems, have given up drama, fiction, poetry and also newspapers which do not espouse the cause they believe in. 'A neat operation' was how an editorial written by Prem Bhatia in *The Tribune* described Operation Bluestar. The newspaper's circulation plunged, and it took a long time to make up the loss. "People need a communal catharsis and have started reading newspapers which provide it," said Gulzar Singh Sandhu, who refused to go into the reasons which led to his exit, but admitted that *Punjabi Tribune's* circulation was falling.

Publications which promote the communal cause have meanwhile grown by leaps and bounds. A particular gainer has been the Jalandhar press, as the popular press in Punjab is known. Both *Punjab Kesari* (a Hindi milieu) and *Ajit* (a Punjabi paper which claims to be promoting

'the Sikh cause') have been steadily gaining in circulation during the current decade. *Punjab Kesari* became synonymous with Hindu defiance after its editors, Lala Jagat Narain and his son Ramesh Chander, were gunned down by terrorists, and the newspaper went on to create a martyrs' fund for the victims of terrorist violence. On the other hand, Brijinder Singh, editor of *Ajit* who had played a key role in the signing of the Punjab accord, has now, with the imposition of Governor's rule, taken an increasingly hostile attitude towards the government.

Another set of gainers is the Punjabi magazines, especially those carrying handwritten notes delivered by extremist leaders. In the wake of Operation Bluestar, magazines which had Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale on their cover had become the rage. He is still a figure revered by the Sikh peasantry.

Said a magazine vendor: "These magazines are sold like hot cakes because they carry a couple of 'hot' pictures." 'Hot' no longer stands for pornographic print-outs, but the repelling pictures of gory corpses.

The government often acts long after the publication is sold out. For instance, it ordered the seizure of the September-October issues of the fortnightly *Dehati Janata*, published from Jalandhar, only on 30 December. The magazine contained objectionable matter whose publication constituted an offence under Sections 124-A and 53-A of the Indian Penal Code. Similar is the case with Kanwal's *Zafarnama*. Said Kanwal: "This book has sold so much over the last one year. But the government chose to ban it only now." Meanwhile an English version of it had also appeared in the market. Kanwal got anticipatory bail in Patiala, after the police registered a case against the publisher in Sirhind.

Kanwal, writing romantic fiction with a rustic flavour, was a progressive and a sympathiser of the left, though he had never been a member of any political party. At one time he digressed from romance, and wrote a political novel laced with rustic humour about the revolution the Maoists were trying to usher in. The novel, *Lahoo di Loh*, which sold nearly 20,000 copies, was a story of how the police in the early 1970s used to tie up the Naxalites (whose ideology seeks sustenance from Sikh history) to tree trunks and shoot them. "The fact that communists have disowned Sikh history to carry their revolution further was a serious mistake. They should have interpreted Sikh history and spearheaded it because it was essentially a militant struggle against Mughal imperialism," says Kanwal.

Even though the Naxalite movement petered out, some of the most moving poetry in Punjab was inspired by the trauma it created. The revolutionaries of Punjab were isolated from the mainstream movement, unlike the militants of today. The militant factions now in the field are more dangerous than those who operated in the immediate post-Bluestar period, when the Sikh anger

was more spontaneous, says he. Though the militants still lack clarity of mind, they are more ruthless and far better prepared to die and kill than their Naxalite predecessors were.

Kanwal, in his outburst, has used historical and socio-economic arguments to prove his point. His is an enthusiasm which often borders on a concept of Sikh infallibility.

Kanwal has shed the camouflage of fiction to take up history. Despite the symbols he has adopted, and the force he has employed, Kanwal in his long letter to Rajiv Gandhi comes out a moderate. He is against the idea of Khalistan. He has also, time and again, called upon extremist organisations to shun the killing of innocents, as that would seriously erode their base among the Sikh masses. His vocabulary is old-fashioned—that of a reformer and not a rebel—especially when compared to the venom in the language of the militants.

While Kanwal is creating ripples with his *Zafarnama* and his articles in *Ajit*, the other Punjabi giant of letters, Sant Singh Sekhon, has hard-hitting pieces for the *Punjabi Tribune*. Kanwal had always been only a sympathiser of the CPI, but Sekhon became its member and contested elections twice on its ticket. After the communist split, he sided with the CPI(M). But with the onset of the Punjab crisis, he has severed his connections with the Marxist party. Both the CPI and the CPI(M), according to him, are serving the purpose of the Congress(I) government at the Centre while opposing the Sikh resistance. "I have no reason to help the government overcome the Punjab problem, especially when the problem was created by it," he said.

Sekhon, though an atheist and less fundamentalist in his approach, comes out as a writer who is more militant than Kanwal, especially when he turns his ire against the Centre. Punjab, through the ages has been an unwilling partner of any union imposed by Delhi, according to him. "The boys, though they claim they are fighting for the Sikh cause, are only fulfilling the historical needs of the people in this region."

Sekhon has written several plays based on Sikh history; his play on the life of Banda Bahadur gave a Marxist interpretation to a religious struggle. The Sikh history, according to him, was nothing but the story of a patriotic struggle against the Mughals.

The revolutionary in him is not dead. But his perception has undergone a change. For some time, he has been planning to write a play on Bhindranwale. But as he himself admits, he is by no means an admirer of Bhindranwale. He is severely critical of Bhindranwale, but has a better opinion of the Sikh youth who have taken control of the militant movement in Punjab.

Sekhon, who lives in Dhaka village on the outskirts of Ludhiana, is scarcely distinguishable from the mass of Sikh peasantry around him. He has stepped into his 80th year but remains intellectually as sharp as ever. But he is extremely bitter about the way the Centre has treated Punjab.

In the last week of December, he presided over a seminar on short story organised by the Punjabi Academy in Delhi. Almost every other story had for its background the current Punjab crisis, as author after author referred to the plight of Hindus in Punjab, the burning of Sikhs elsewhere in the country, the midnight murders, the unidentified corpses, the nostalgia for the shared past.

"The stories we write now are weighed down with violence. Our outlook in the past was hopeful. Maybe because of the independence the country had attained. It appears that now the young men have nothing to look forward to," said Sekhon. Because of the environment, Sekhon maintained, the predominant subject of literature, as well as life, is today only gruesome tragedy.

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## PAKISTAN

**Libyan, Cuban Foreign Ministers Visit**  
46000094b Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in  
English 12 Feb 88 p 3

[Text] Islamabad, Feb 11—The Libyan Foreign Minister Jadallah Talahi called on the President Zia-ul-Haq here today.

He conveyed to the President the best wishes and regards of Libyan leader Col Muammar Qaddafi. He also discussed matters of mutual interests particularly the economic, commercial and cultural relations between the two countries.

The President expressed the hope that the joint ministerial commission meeting between the two countries would result and lead to further improvement of relations.

The President asked the Libyan Foreign Minister to convey his best wishes to President Qaddafi and the people of Libya.

The visiting Deputy Foreign Minister of Cuba, Gerald Nazola also called on the President Zia-ul-Haq at Awan-i-Sadr here today.

During the meeting, he delivered a message from President Fidel Castro to the President. They also discussed matters relating to bilateral relations.

The President expressed the hope that despite the geographical distance between the two countries, new avenues would be explored in order to intensify exchange between the two countries and to increase collaboration for the mutual benefit, particularly in economic and commercial fields.—PPI

/06662

**Broad Agreement With Libya Reached**  
*46000094a Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 14 Feb 88 p 1*

[Text] Islamabad, Feb 13—The 10th session of the Pak Libya Joint Ministerial Commission took place from Feb 10 to 13.

The four subcommittees of commission held separate meetings during the period. Broad agreement was reached on a number of proposals aimed at enhancing economic, cultural and commercial exchanges between the two countries.

Specific agreements were finalised on social security, a cultural agreement and protocol, and on the equivalence of diplomats and degrees.

The Libyan delegation was led by Secretary of the People's Committee of the Popular Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Jadallah Azouz al Talahi. The Pakistan delegation was led by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Zain Noorani.—PPI

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**Talks With India Free Fishermen**  
*46000092f Karachi DAWN in English 13 Feb 88 pp 1, 3*

[Text] Islamabad, Feb 12—Pakistan and India agreed on Friday to release all the detained fishermen and vessels as a gesture of mutual goodwill and understanding between the two countries, it was officially stated here.

The agreement was reached in the second round of talks between the two countries on Feb 10 and 11. The modalities to implement the agreement will soon be finalised through mutual consultations.

Both sides have also agreed to take steps for preventing such incidents in future.

The Indian delegation was led by Shrimati Indira Misra, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, and the Pakistan delegation was led by Mr Anis Ahmed, Joint Secretary (Maritime), Ministry of Defence, Government of Pakistan.—APP

Our Staff Reporter adds: Over 500 Pakistan fishermen and 42 of their fishing vessels are detained in India. They were seized by the maritime security authorities while fishing close to the undemarcated borders between India and Pakistan at Siri Creek.

Similarly, the Pakistan authorities had seized about 38 fishing vessels with about 200 Indian fishermen on board while fishing within the 200-mile limit Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) or close to the undemarcated borders near Siri Creek.

At least 10 Pakistan vessels, two from Pour Bandar and eight from Okha, were freed on payment of 50 per cent value of the vessels by the Indian courts.

The "war for seizure of fishing vessels with its crew" between the two countries started in the autumn of 1986 and was followed by a massive military exercise by India on the borders with Pakistan.

Most of the Pakistan boats were kept in Gujrat ports where 14 vessels sank in the channels for lack of proper care by the maritime security authorities in India.

On the contrary, all the 38 Indian fishing vessels were detained at the Karachi Fish Harbour with proper care causing no damage to the vessels.

The detained fishermen were kept at the Central Prison, Karachi, with adequate facilities under the law.

The local courts in Pakistan imposed nominal penalties on the owners of the fishing vessels and shorter prison terms to Indian crew. About 18 of the Indian fishing vessels were released in the process with all its catch impounded by the courts.

The Indians rounded up about 900 Pakistan fishermen during the operation in the Siri Creek region. About 400 Pakistani fishermen were released from the Indian jails after completion of their prison terms. However, some of them were detained for questioning by the authorities on the borders in Pakistan.

One of the Pakistan fishermen lost his life when the Indians fired gunshot on a fleeing Pakistan fishing boat in April 1987.

The deceased was identified as Abdul Aziz, son of Mohammad Yusuf, a resident of Karachi. Three other crew members of the boat sustained bullet wounds in the Indian attack.

The main dispute between India and Pakistan arose on the maritime borders near Siri Creek from where the Indians seized most of the Pakistani fishing vessels and rounded up their crew.

This action of the Indian authorities perturbed the fishing circles and it also affected the fish catch of the country during the past two years. Most of the Pakistani fishing boats remained off the Siri Creek, the undemarcated maritime borders between the two countries.

Some of the owners of the seized boats went to Gujrat and Maharashtra where they fought cases in the Indian courts by engaging advocates in India.

The Indian courts imposed heavy fines on the owners for allegedly violating the territorial waters of India. Since the owners of the fishing boats were of meager economic means, and some of the vessels were under the joint ownership of several persons, they could not pay the heavy penalties.

For that reason alone, most of the Pakistani fishing boats are still detained in the "open sea" or in the channels outside the Indian ports.

The process of normalisation of relations between the two countries started during the bilateral meeting between Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo and the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in Kathmandu during the SAARC summit.

Both the delegations agreed to initiate talks between the officials for demarcation of the maritime boundaries between the two countries near Siri Creek.

The agreement for releasing all the seized vessels and detained fishermen will have to be followed by formal demarcation of the boundaries near Siri Creek by holding talks between officials of Indian and Pakistan. Otherwise, there will be a fresh wave of seizure of fishing vessels and arrest of fishermen.

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#### **Opening Of Khokhrapar Border Route With India Urged**

46560020b Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 25 Jan 88 p 3

[Editorial: "Khokhrapar Route"]

[Text] The Khokhrapar route to India has been closed for a long time. Despite assurance from our prime minister there appear to be no hope of this route being opened again. Several times in the past we were told that all arrangements to open this route has been finalized and the route was to be opened soon. No action was ever taken and our government never even explained the reason for this delay. Fear of Indian intelligence agents entering our country and helping traitors here is often cited as the reason for keeping this route closed. We do not understand this fear since people using this route will have to show their passports and visas. Conversely, we have no passport or visa requirements at our border with Afghanistan. Three or four times a year our border

routes with Afghanistan are opened like a public thoroughfare. Anyone can cross the border at will. The government knows that members of Khad and KGB are active in subversive activities in our country and they enter Pakistan freely via Afghanistan. We do nothing about it and keep Khokhrapar route closed!

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#### **Punjab Leaders Call for Separate Province**

46000094d Karachi DAWN in English 14 Feb 88 p 3

[Text] Muzaffargarh, Feb 13—Mr Taj Muhammad Khan Langah, Chief of Seraiki Soba Mahaz, has said that a sense of deprivation had been created in the minds of Seraiki people and now there was no alternative to the constitution of a separate province for them consisting of Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Bahawalpur Division, Jhang, Mianwali, Bhakkar and Dera Ismail Khan districts.

Addressing a big public meeting here on Saturday, he said that Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar, former Punjab Governor, was languishing in prison because he belonged to Seraiki area and the Government was not ready to provide basic amenities and freedom to the people of this zone.

Mr Muzaffar Hussain Magassi urged the authorities to execute the plan of Kalabagh Dam to irrigate the lands of Seraiki zone and to provide power for the country. He said that some vested interests, including some Muslim Leaguers were opposing this multi-purpose project for the sake of their "evil designs."

He demanded reactivation of Rangpur canal to save thousand acres of land of Muzaffargarh subdivision.

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#### **NPP Leader Claims Government 'Third Rate'**

46000092a Karachi DAWN in English 14 Feb 88 p 6

[Excerpts] Rawalpindi, Feb 13—The former governor of Punjab and an NPP leader, Mr Ghulam Mustafa Khar, was on Saturday produced in the court of the Additional Session Judge, Rawalpindi, Mr Farrukh Latif, in the Liaquat Bagh Firing Case.

Mr Khar was brought to the court from Adiala Jail, where he is presently under detention.

Talking informally to newsmen in the court premises, Mr Mustafa Khar asked the people not to fall prey to the Government's policy through which it was creating despondence among them.

Despondency, he said, was a sin, adding "despite the fact that I had remained exiled for ten long years and was behind the bars for the last one and a half years, I still do not feel frustration and despondency."



He said the present rulers were running the Government on ad hoc basis and the time will come soon that there will be a "people's Government."

He was of the view that the Government under well-planned policy was trying to eliminate real leadership from the country and imposing, what he said, "a third rate leadership." This showed that the Government was determined to altogether put a halt to politics, adding "the government will not succeed in its efforts."

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**Baluch Leader Alleges Government 'Corrupting Us'**

46000092b Karachi DAWN in English 14 Feb 88 p 5

[Text] Quetta, Feb 13—Nawab Mohammad Akbar Bugti, chief of the Bugti tribe and a former Governor of Baluchistan called for holding free and fair elections from a constituent assembly which should in turn determine the inter-relationship among what he termed "national units in the Federation of Pakistan."

"We stand for Federation of Pakistan where sovereignty lies with the national units on the basis of parity," he declared, and said the election of a constituent assembly empowered to determine the future relationship among "national units," of the country would be acceptable to all.

Nawab Bugti who was addressing a big public meeting held under the aegis of the Baluch Ittehad, at Sibi, about 100 miles from Quetta, on Friday, said that the unity of Federation could only be maintained by all the four units on the basis of equality and equal representation.

Referring to Sibi, he said Sevi (Sibi) was the old capital of "Baluch nation state" of Mir Chakar Rind who established Baluch rule and "gave us this land as our own." He said, "This is the land of our fathers, it is our heritage, it is our sacred land which we won with our blood." The "Baluch nation" gave the name to this land while Sindh and Punjab were names of rivers and not of their nationalities, he added.

Nawab Akbar Bugti said the "Baluch nation" was being made to fight among itself and at the same time the Baluchs were being corrupted by highups in the regime in the province with the money from the United States and the Middle East and added the Baluch lands were being converted to serve as new bases for imperialism.

He said that Baluch, Sindhis and Pathans were being made to fight among themselves to keep them weak and oppressed so that they could not unite and struggle for their rights. Baluch, he added, were the wealthiest among all the units but their wealth was being controlled by the Centre and used to "corrupt us with our own wealth." He referred to the income through Sui Gas and said it came to more than 24 billion rupees which was more than

sufficient for the needs of Baluchs and for their progress. "We get nothing from it and the outsiders control the wealth of the Baluchs and occupy all seats of power, wealth and authority," he said.

Mohajirs: He told the gathering that Mohajirs were the only true Pakistanis but today they had rejected "Pakistan" and had successfully established their claim to a separate nationality. "We should learn a lesson from the result of the successful unity of the Mohajirs," he added.

Among others who addressed the meeting included Mr Ismail Baluch founder of the Baluch Ittehad Organisation, Sadar Mir Irshad Khan Gola, Mr Yar Mohammad Shah-wani, Sardar Baqa Mohammad Jakharani, Wadera Noor Mohammad Gishkori, Mr Abdullah Baluch, Mr Liaquat Ali Baluch, Mr Ata Mohammad Baluch and Mr Mohammad Aslam Gishkori.

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**Leaders Call for March Against Regime 'Evil Designs'**

46000092d Karachi DAWN in English 12 Feb 88 p 20

[Excerpts] Karachi, Feb 11—Leaders of all the opposition political parties here on Thursday demanded publication "within 15 days" of the Masooduzzaman Commission report, Justice Abdul Haye Qureshi Commission report and Justice Sajjad Ali Shan Commission report.

The publication of these reports was necessary to enable the citizens of Karachi/Sind to determine the motives underlying the ethnic clashes and to know which particular elements have been responsible for or directly involved in the disturbances, they said in a resolution.

Meeting at the initiative of the Sind PDP President, Mr Mushtaq Mirza, at his residence the participants decided that all the political parties organise a "peace march" in the city to help restore fraternal peace and tolerance in the riot-afflicted cosmopolitan city.

The meeting held the Government responsible for failing to arrest the wave of major crimes in Sind, including Karachi. "Gen Zia-ul-Haq should quit along with his set-up headed by Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo and his (Zia's) nominee in Sind, Chief Minister Syed Ghous Ali Shah", the resolution said.

The meeting appealed to the citizens of Karachi to beware of the Government's "divide and rule" policy designed to pit brother against brother and, thereby, to perpetuate its rule. "The only way to frustrate the bureaucracy's evil designs is that people inculcate a sense of unity and brotherhood and launch a concerted struggle for the restitution of their inalienable democratic rights", the resolution said.

Participants included MRD Secretary-General Malik Mohammad Qasim (President of his PML faction), Prof Ghafoor Ahmad (Jamaat-i-Islami), Mr Pyarali Allana (PPP), Dr Rahimul Haq (Tehrik-i-Istaqlal), Mr Kamal Azfar (NPP), Mr Hakim Ali Zardari (ANP), Mr Mohammad Ahmad Siddiqui (JUP), Maulana Abdur Razzak Aziz (JUI) Shaikh Liaquat Hussain, President of his PML faction, Mr Iqbal Haider (QMA) and Mr S.M. Altaf (MKP).

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#### **Release of Political Prisoners Demanded**

46000092e Karachi DAWN in English 11 Feb 88 p 4

[Text] February 10—Speakers at a seminar held for the release of political prisoners on Wednesday demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners convicted by military courts.

Nawabzada Nasrullah, Mairaj Muhammad Khan, S.M. Zafar, Dr Mubashir Hassan, Mian Afzal Hayat, leader of the Opposition in Punjab Assembly, Mumtaz Ahmad Tarar, MNA, Aitzaz Ahsan, Abid Hasan Minto and Asma Jehangir were the prominent speakers at the seminar. Begum Tehmina Mustafa Khar organised the seminar.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan said that survival of the country was a more important issue than the restoration of democracy. For this purpose, he called upon all political parties to unite and launch a joint struggle to save the country.

He warned against the separatist tendencies which were raising their heads in Sind and Baluchistan. This, he said, was the result of prolonged Martial Law. He said that political and democratic institutions and the process of national integration had received a serious setback during Martial Law period. As a result, a very serious situation had arisen which needed united and concerted action by the political parties.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan said the Martial Law regime had exploited the fair name of Islam, the Quaid-i-Azam and Allama Iqbal to perpetuate itself and the Referendum held in 1984 was a play in the name of Islam to remain in power.

He said that release of all political prisoners was the foremost demand of the MRD and whatever programme was drawn up for their release the MRD would actively support it.

Mr Mairaj Muhammad Khan said military courts which convicted political workers were illegal and unconstitutional and all convictions should be declared null and void. He also demanded that the superior courts should be given the right to review the military courts convictions. He said independence of judiciary was essential. He emphasised the need for launching a movement for

the release of political prisoners and said all MRD parties would join such a campaign. He dwelt at length on the role of the imperialist powers in Pakistan and its harmful effects on the country.

Mr Mumtaz Ahmed Tarar, MNA, has expressed the fear that a "dictatorship" is being imposed on the country.

Addressing a seminar for the release of political prisoners here on Wednesday afternoon, Mr Tarar appealed to all political parties, including the ruling Muslim League, to get united to resist, what he called, the new dictatorship. If they did not eschew differences and failed to stand up to the impending threat to democracy, the chances of survival of democracy in Pakistan would vanish for good, he added.

Mr Tarar said at present there were 498 political prisoners in the country, including 91 in Punjab, 348 in Sind, 34 in NWFP and 25 in Baluchistan. In his opinion, the Government was not too concerned about these prisoners. He urged the political parties to launch a movement for the release of political prisoners and the day they did so he would resign from the national assembly and join their struggle.

However, Mr Tarar said, if the political parties failed to start any movement by March 23, he himself would start one with the cooperation of workers.

Mr Tarar said the Martial Law was a period of agony for the political workers and they were maltreated in several ways. He said he had raised the issue many times in the National Assembly, but the Government seemed indifferent to it.

He deplored that the constitutional committee set up by the Government to examine the possibility of giving the political prisoners the right to appeal had not presented its report even after 18 months.

Mr Tarar said the Government was now saying that only hardship cases would be reviewed which meant that just a few of the Martial Law convicts would get the right to appeal. "This is gross discrimination and we don't accept the report of the constitutional committee," he said.

He appealed to all parties to launch a united struggle for the release of political prisoners.

Mian Afzal Hayat, leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Assembly, in his address said the Martial Law courts could not be termed as courts and the sentences awarded by them were unconstitutional. He assured the political parties of full support on behalf of his group for any movement to be launched by them.

Syed Tahir Ahmed Shah, Deputy Leader of the Opposition in the Punjab Assembly, said the present political setup was an extension of Martial Law. He said if the rulers believed they had a representative status and

sovereignty, they should prove so by granting the political prisoners the right to appeal. It was the result of the sacrifices made by the detenus that the present rulers had come into power, he emphasised.

He deplored that the remissions granted even to those convicted on moral grounds were not applicable to the prisoners of conscience.

Mr S.M. Zafar, Chief Organiser of the National People's Party, said the continued detention of political prisoners was a very strong proof that the so-called civilian Government was an extension of martial law.

He said the accused in the Attock case had been sentenced by a military court of which Gen. Zia-ul-Haq was the President. But after he assumed power in 1977, he ordered the release of all of the convicts. Had Mr Muhammad Khan Junejo also been a genuine Prime Minister, he would have released all political prisoners, he argued.

He was for a joint struggle for the release of the prisoners of conscience. He asked all political parties to consider the problem of political prisoners as their own.

Making an obvious reference to the speech made by Mr Mumtaz Ahmed Tarar, MNA Mr Zafar said nothing could be expected from the present assembly which, he called unrepresentative and unconstitutional.

Dr Mubashir Hasan lashed out at the Government for public executions and flogging. Such sentences proved the "barbarism" of the rulers, he observed.

Mrs Tehmina Khar said it was the duty of every man, woman and child to stand up to injustice. "In avoiding that duty, we are part to the same sin as the people who actually committed it. We cannot justify our freedom until we have fought for those who are not free," she said.

She said, "We could not justify an indifferent attitude towards those that are not free."

The consequences of irresponsible and repressive acts must not be allowed to continue especially when the affectees were those whose intrepid struggle led to election and paved the way for a civil Government.

"When a Government which never tires of calling itself democratic and its parliament ratifies and legalises the most disgraceful acts committed against the people, we have a duty to perform, a burden to carry, a responsibility, to share and nothing can or will justify our inactivity."

Mr Aitzaz Ahsan, a member of the Pakistan Bar Council, argued that since the Eighth Amendment had been passed unanimously by the National Assembly and the National People's Party had also representation in the

House, the responsibility for validation of all Martial Law misdeeds and continued detention of the political prisoners also rested with the NPP.

He was for a peaceful struggle for the release of the prisoners of conscience.

Rashid Qureshi, Secretary, Information PDP, said the legislators who validated the Martial Law acts through the Eighth Amendment were also liable to be tried on charge of treason along with those who imposed martial law.

He said the Government should be given a deadline of March 23 for the release of all political prisoners and if it failed to meet it a movement should be launched. He also invited the Assembly members to tender resignations and join the popular movement.

Syed Afzal Haider, former President of the Lahore High Court Bar, Mr Abid Hasan Minto, Secretary-General, Pakistan Socialist Party, Tariq Lateef, a leader of the Awami National Party, Habib Jalib, Mr I.H. Raashed, President, PFUJ, Asma Jehangir, a leader of the Women's Action Forum and Mr Abdullah Malik, also spoke on the occasion.

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**Defense Expert Claims 'Only Option Is Nuclear'**  
46000093 Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English  
13 Feb 88 p 3

[Text] Islamabad, Feb 12—Pakistan is in a situation in which it has one and only option that it must go nuclear. The present position demands that Pakistan should reduce, not increase its conventional forces and create a deterrent nuclear force including nuclear weapons.

This observation has been made by a Pakistani expert on defence matters. S.M. Ali in a detailed article appearing in the magazine NEW HORIZON of London.

He said such a step on the part of Pakistan will not only ensure Pakistan's security but would also release substantial resources for the rapid economic and social development of the country. Over and above this would also greatly help in the normalisation of relations between India and Pakistan and herald an era of peace and stability in the region.

Giving comprehensive reasons as to why Pakistan should go nuclear vis-a-vis India's attitude towards Pakistan since its very establishment, the author said ever since the loss of Pakistan's eastern Wing and the creation of Bangladesh India's goal has been to establish its hegemony over Pakistan. To this end, it has created a formidable war machine, established a vast network of defence industries and developed the atom bomb.



Giving a detailed comparison of some key elements of the military power of Pakistan and India, the author said India has 1.8 times as many tanks as has Pakistan, more than twice the combat aircraft, more than six times the transport aircraft, India has also 60 armed helicopters whereas Pakistan has none. In the navy it has two aircraft carriers, 23 frigates and 33 corvettes against nil in Pakistan. In addition to substantial quantitative superiority, India has ever great qualitative superiority, as far as its military hardware is concerned.

The Soviet Union has not only supplied India with the most sophisticated military hardware but has also transferred the state of art technology and helped India with the establishment of production facility for the most advanced military hardware, such as MiG-27 aircraft, T-7 tanks and submarines, etc.

The article said India's link-up with Israel is motivated by the same consideration. India considers Pakistan to be the main obstacle to the achievement of its hegemonistic ambitions in the Muslim world. Once Pakistan is out of the way, most Muslim states in the Gulf and the Middle East will be a piece of cake for India.

A stable, strong and secure Pakistan is also all the more necessary not only for the sovereignty and independence of the gulf and the Middle Eastern Muslim states but also for the security of the Gulf oil on which the economies of the West and Japan are heavily dependent. Consequently, the creation of a creditable defence capability by Pakistan is therefore not only Pakistan's problem but also the problem of the Muslim states in the Gulf and Middle East as well as of the West and Japan.

Referring to the nuclear non-proliferation policy, the author described it as a myth. He said America and its Western allies not only did not prevent Israel from building a nuclear arsenal but actually helped it do so by turning a blind eye to its illegal activities. The subject falls into perspective by the story of how Israel built its nuclear arsenal.

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### **Women's Forum Alleges Police Complicity in Crime**

46000092c Karachi DAWN in English 12 Feb 88 p 21

[Text] February 11—The Women's Action Forum (Rawalpindi, Islamabad) has demanded the immediate withdrawal of the proposed Ninth Amendment and the repeal of all discriminatory legislation, especially the Hudood Ordinance and the Qanoon-i-Shahadat.

In a statement issued after a meeting to celebrate its sixth birthday and to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the police lathicharge on women demonstrators in Lahore, WAF deplored the current state of societal apathy and general indifference, particularly towards the fast deteriorating plight of women. "The latest known

examples are the stripping of a woman in public in Mardan and the rape of an 18-month old infant in Karachi which caused her death."

The WAF viewed with extreme concern the continuing state of unrest and insecurity prevailing in the country, particularly in Karachi and asked, "How long can this state of affairs last in an Islamic society?"

WAF called for the restoration of human rights and for immediate attention to the unmet needs of the deprived population of the country. Until these issues are addressed, WAF feared that the people will continue to be prey to all kinds of exploitation.

WAF called upon policymakers, legislators, non-governmental organisations, women's groups, human rights groups and the public at large to work towards a re-ordering of national priorities, with a view to removing basic injustices.

WAF viewed with grave concern and resentment the fact that five years after the police lathicharged a peaceful procession of women in Lahore, Pakistani women are still being subjected to physical and legislative battering.

"Now only have violent crimes against women (including the public stripping and parading naked of helpless women, sexual assault and rape) become an everyday occurrence, but the involvement and complicity of the police is obvious, as is the indifference of the administration."

The proposed 9th constitutional amendment bill, as the latest in a string of retrogressive legislation, is a major contributing factor to an increasing air of insecurity, the WAF statement observed.

WAF (Rawalpindi/Islamabad) expressed its support for the demonstration organised by WAF, Lahore, and endorsed the repeated demands by numerous organisations for protecting and further strengthening of the Family Laws Ordinance, 1961.

"We condemn the recent attempts to virtually nullifying the Family Laws Ordinance through judicial interpretation."

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### **Bombing at Ghaffar Khan's Burial Condemned**

46560020a Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 24 Jan 88 p 3

[Editorial: "A Deplorable Act"]

[Text] The alleged Afghanistan government has come down to committing such lowly acts that are unheard of in the history of mankind. Arrangements were made to bury Pakistan's prominent leader Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan at Jalalabad. Maulvi Yunus Khalis, leader of Afghan Mujahiddin, had ordered his followers to stop all



war activities along the route the body was to be transported to Jalalabad. He had also ordered to suspend all activities until burial ceremonies were over. The puppet government of Afghanistan, however, had already decided to take advantage of this occasion. It has decided to disrupt burial activities in order to turn Pakistanis against the Mujahiddin.

It was obvious that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was not going to recover from the paralysis attack he had on 24 July 87 in India. At that time it was decided to follow his wish and bury his body in Jalalabad. At that time, JASARAT had published a three-column news item about Khad, secret police of Afghanistan government, to blast a bomb at the burial of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. This deplorable act was to be blamed on the Mujahiddin so that Pakistanis would turn against Afghan refugees and stop helping the Mujahiddin. The JASARAT had warned Pakistani government and the people by publishing this news and telling them that the puppet government of Afghanistan led by Dr Najibullah will take such action at the Soviet government's insistence. We do not know whether our government believed us or took any precautionary measures. We do know that our fears of such action were proven right when the Khad blasted a bomb exactly at the time of the burial.

Two buses parked in the lot adjacent to the burial place were blown up exactly when Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's funeral procession arrived in Jalalabad. Fifteen persons were killed on the spot and many more were badly injured. The bomb was planted in one of the two buses that were sent to Afghanistan to be a part of the funeral procession. Obviously, the bomb was planted in a Pakistani bus so that either Pakistanis or Afghan refugees are suspected of this act. All this was done to cause a rift between Pakistanis and Afghan refugees. Perhaps our intelligence agencies had not given much attention to the possibility of such an incident. We were fortunate that we had at least expected it.

How could Afghan Mujahiddin and refugees benefit from such a deplorable act? This would only have alienated Pakistanis. The Afghan Mujahiddin are not experts at making and using bombing devices. They are used to fighting with guns, rockets, and cannons. Khan, Afghanistan's intelligence agency, is not only expert in planting bombs in cars but has advanced training in this technique from the Soviets. They staged this whole thing to cause a rift between Pakistanis and Afghan refugees and the Mujahiddin. Investigations will show who was behind this disgraceful act and who is trying to change the Afghan Mujahiddin's success into failure? We would like to advise Pakistanis to be patient at this time and remember that the puppet government of Afghanistan has bombed many cities in Pakistan. It has used the occasion of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's burial to alienate Pakistanis and Afghan refugees from each other. We are sure that Pakistan's citizens know this truth and instead of getting angry at Afghan refugees will become more careful to protect themselves from Khad's

activities. Our government should also be more careful and make sure such accidents do not happen again. The world is aware that as the time for talks in Geneva is approaching the Afghan government is increasing its activities to make these talks fail. They want to prolong their time in the office and do not want any solution to the Afghan problem. Perhaps this usurper group does not remember what happened to the similar governments led by Nur Mohammed Taraki and Hafiz Allah Amin. They should also know where Babrek Karmal has disappeared. Najibullah and his followers will meet with similar fate in the near future. The proud, brave, and aggressive citizens of Afghanistan will never let such traitors rule their country. Dr Najibullah and his associates should know that their time has come to drown in the "deep ocean of anonymity." The sun of freedom will rise on Afghanistan's horizon heralding an era of prosperity and happiness.

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**Solar Plant Said To Be Meeting Water Needs**  
46000094c Karachi DAWN in English 12 Feb 88 p 6

[Text] Karachi, Feb 12: The solar water desalination plant installed at Man Bai Jo Tar, about 20 km from Chachro in the drought stricken area of Thar in Sind on Dec 31, 1987 is meeting the drinking water needs of over 1000 persons of the area.

The first plant of its kind, in the area, it has been designed, fabricated and installed by the Solar Energy Centre of Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (PCSIR).

The plant, possessing a capacity of 250 gallons per day (GPD) fabricated within a short notice of 10 days, was installed with the mechanical and civil work expertise of the centre's engineers and technicians.

The distilled water produced when mixed with the brackish water of the well yields about 500 GPD drinking water.

Meanwhile, fabrication of 20 water desalination units (10-12 litre capacity) has been completed while fabrication of another two group size units (100-120 litre capacity) have been taken in hand for installation in Thar area in pursuance of the instructions of the Federal Ministry of Science and Technology and the Prime Minister's Secretariat.

At the same time family size potable solar water plants are being fabricated for installation in 15-16 small villages in the Thar and Nara Arid Zone.

The Solar Energy Centre of PCSIR has also been entrusted with the task of repairing and maintenance of the Gwadur desalination plant.—PPI

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